Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-95-240 *14 December 1995*

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Key Developments

CPRF's Zyuganov, NDR's Mikhalkov Hold Debate

LD1312230295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1635 GMT on 13 December, broadcasts the "Hero of the Day" program, hosted by Yevgeniy Kiselev, which features a live studio debate between Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], "which many people are forecasting will enjoy the most success," Kiselev says, and Nikita Mikhalkov, second on the list of the Russia Is Our Home [NDR] government bloc.

Kiselev adds: "The first on the list [Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin] does not want to take part in any debates with anybody, for reasons that are probably not hard to fathom."

Asked by Kiselev for his forecast of how many people will vote for the Communists, Zyuganov says he has seen widely diverging poll forecasts: "We have travelled around the whole of Russia recently. I myself have been in 72 of the 89 regions, and I want to say quite frankly that we are gaining support everywhere. It is very important for us now for the elections to be properly and publicly monitored, so we have been talking to all electoral committees and have sent our observers to every polling station. So we can pick up a substantial number of votes in a whole series of regions, especially where things are bad, in the central region, northern Caucasus, the Volga, and a number of areas in Siberia." However, Zyuganov refused to make any definite predictions.

Mikhalkov is equally evasive: "Well, Gennadiy Andreyevich said the Communist Party will get the majority of votes where things are bad; I reckon we will do better where things are going better." One can live well everywhere in Russia, he says, if one lives and works; if one complains and does nothing, then things are bad. He rejects Kiselev's provocative suggestion that he might be referring to the Communists with the latter comment, however.

Stressing his desire for civilized relations between politicians, Mikhalkov congratulates Zyuganov on gaining his doctorate in philosophical sciences: "For the first time, there will be an erudite man at the head of the Communist Party, that is very important." Zyuganov returns the compliment, praising Mikhalkov's artistic talents; he had hoped to meet Viktor Chernomyrdin for a live debate "with the real executive power." Mikhalkov laments in reply that some politicians do not take him seriously because of his film career.

Kiselev asks whether there is any truth in the rumors that Zyuganov and Chernomyrdin have concluded a "non-aggression pact, that there is allegedly some sort of political accord for cooperation in the Duma after these elections." Zyuganov denies this: "No, that is not the case at all. We have not approved such a policy and cannot do so. We did not support this Constitution and cannot do so. We talked to him about the situation as it actually is," he says.

Mikhalkov says he knows nothing about any such negotiations and agreements, but he does not deny the possibility of cooperation between the NDR and the Communists in the new Duma, saying that the Duma could not exist without cooperation between its members. Asked about the option of a coalition government made up of Communists and NDR, Mikhalkov says: "I think there are among the Communists people such as the first one on their list, Gennadiy Andreyevich, who to judge from what he says, is a balanced man who does not want bloody changes. It is another matter that I have a very great fear that the situation could take another turn, because, after all, atheism is behind the communist idea. And atheism is in itself ruinous for Russia," Mikhalkov continues, adding a quote from writer Dostoyevskiy to the effect that without God, the Russian is a beast.

Communism is ruinous for Russia, Mikhalkov agrees, under pressure from Kiselev, at least in the form in which Russians know it. In answer to Kiselev's suggestion that Zyuganov is not a Communist, but a social democrat, Mikhalkov refuses to be drawn and says he dislikes political labels.

Zyuganov interjects here that he has on several occasions suggested that the government, the presidential team, and the Duma get together to discuss the real state of affairs in the country. "But not once in two years have the three branches of power got together to examine the real state of affairs. He [Viktor Chernomyrdin] has exactly the same people in his team: Chubays, Shakhray, and Kozyrev, who have put the country up for sale on the cheap and are now selling it off on a basis such that — there can be no government of accord." Zyuganov adds that Mikhalkov's taunt about atheism is misplaced: "I believe in good, sincerity, beauty, justice, and many other values," which do not depend on party membership, such as safety, education, science, and art.

Mikhalkov says if Zyuganov believes in good, what can he say about the communists who destroyed the country and the faith. Zyuganov replies: "You know, any reform means adding to what already exists. We have got through those years. I looked at the membership of the party after the war: Almost all of them went to the front and labored in the rear, the best cadres, people with high

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morals, pure and steadfast, who defended the country and raised it from the ruins. Why must they be brought to their knees, banned, and driven away. And it was not only the CPSU that was banned and driven away, but the soviets have been dissolved, the economic mechanism destroyed, and now they have hiked up taxes so high that not a single entrepreneur or businessman can pay them. The politicians are turning everyone into thieves — it is absolutely impermissible. Can God appear in men's souls under such policies? There is no basic justice! They have taken away from people the money they had saved for funerals and weddings, for a car, or a house, everyone has been turned in to semi-beggars, 130 million people cannot make ends meet."

Mikhalkov challenges Zyuganov's interpretation of events, saying that the impoverishment of the people took place much earlier, under the Communists, who suppressed protest in bloody reprisals such as the Novocherkassk events under Brezhnev. "A situation has arisen today where the collective irresponsibility of past years can be replaced by individual responsibility," but this is for many a frightening concept, he says. Zyuganov counters this by recalling Boris Yeltsin's election manifesto, under which he promised support to all branches of the economy and all people. The Novocherkassk events were indeed terrible, but Chechnya is a thousand times worse: "Six million refugees! Gaydar talks about queues, but the biggest queue would stretch from Moscow to the Volga, 6 million refugees! And the biggest queue, too, would lead to the cemetery. Nearly 1 million die every year. No such shameful situation existed five or seven years ago," Zyuganov says.

After some sparring on the origins of the Chechnya crisis, which Mikhalkov placed firmly earlier in the Soviet period, and interjections by Kiselev that only succeed in muddying the arguments, Zyuganov calls for the debate to return to the problems of today, which face each and every voter. Mikhalkov says one has to understand the origins of problems before discussing their solutions. The system collapsed, Zyuganov says, "because the CPSU was not simply a party, but was a system of state rule. If you break the compass on any aircraft, it will certainly crash. It should not have been broken," Zyuganov continues, enumerating the branches of the national economy and state that are languishing, and then calling an end to fruitless discussion.

Mikhalkov says the old system collapsed because it was built on fear, and older people have no recollection of anything else. "You are a reasonable sort of man," he tells Zyuganov, "an intelligent and talented man, you talk convincingly," but there is still the party discipline that holds people in thrall. Zyuganov counters this by reminding Mikhalkov of a film he made in the early 1960s, which showed people with no fear of crime and theft. The Communist Party program, Zyuganov says, calls for a multilayered economy, with priority given to the public and collective sectors, and strong and reliable security. "We understand that freedom of conscience is indeed freedom of conscience, you may believe in whatsoever God you find necessary," he says, going on to criticize the exposure given to foreign religions that fill peak airtime on Russian television and radio on Sundays. Mikhalkov agrees that this is shocking; Kiselev adds that the NTV channel does not show such religious programs.

In an extra three minutes of airtime granted to the debaters, Kiselev asks Mikhalkov whether he thinks Zyuganov's Communists will fulfill their election promises if they get into power. "I am convinced that Mr. Zyuganov is a decent man, and I know and feel absolutely for certain that as a result, he will turn out to be the victim of a big deception."

Asked if Russia will turn into Mikhalkov's vision if the NDR stays at the helm of the government, Zyuganov says he sympathizes with Mikhalkov's ideas, but "as for Russia Is Our Home — I cannot call it Our Home because things are not drunk away and stolen from one's own home, and in one's own home old folk are given care and children educated," he does not believe in its policies.

Mikhalkov says he fears that the communists might come to power. He will not take it upon himself to tell people not to vote for the communists, but he wants them to know the consequences of voting for them. Asked whether he will tell people not to vote for the NDR, Zyuganov says: "There is a fight between two parties here. I call them the party of national betrayal and the party of people's patriots. I think the people will make a wise and just choice, you will see."

Kiselev encourages the debaters to shake hands in the studio, and promises a live debate between Boris Fedorov and Stanislav Gorovukhin in the "Hero of the Day" studio on 14 December.

Gaydar Says Democrats Reaching Compromises To Win

LD1412131395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1222 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 14 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — On the eve of the elections, electoral blocs of the

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democratic orientation are reaching mutual compromises in their common interest, Yegor Gaydar told newsmen today at his press conference in the State Duma.

He said that the rapprochement of the positions of democrats is happening in majority districts, where the bloc "The Democratic Choice of Russia-United Democrats" has already withdrawn by mutual agreement six of its candidates in favour of other candidates. Electoral blocs "Russia Is Our Home," "Yabloko," and "Forward, Russia!" and others were among those who took part in the negotiations, he added. Respectively, these blocs have also made concessions.

The leader of "Russia's Choice" has predicted that political forces he described as "national-socialists" will strengthen their positions in the second State Duma; however, they "will not gain firm control over the chamber."

Gaydar believes that representatives of communists, the Congress of Russian Communities, of "Russia Is Our Home" and of "Yabloko" will be elected to the State Duma on the federal lists.

"If we clear the 5 percent hurdle, then the bloc of the political opposition will not receive a control packet in the State Duma," said the leader of "Russia's Choice." He acknowledged, however, that his electoral bloc was "in the risk zone."

Yegor Gaydar confirmed his intention to hold a TV debate with Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, whom he sent another official invitation today. "The Public Russian Television is prepared to give airtime for the debate and to organize everything themselves," the leader of "Russia's Choice" said. If for some reason he is unable to have a discussion with the Communist Party leader, he is "ready for the dialogue with other representatives of the Communist electoral bloc," he added.

MVD Head 'Dissatisfied' With Preelection Security

LD1412151695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1332 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 14 (INTERFAX) — The Russian Interior Ministry [MVD] has decided to check the activities of the Moscow police related to security measures on the eve and day of elections to Russia's State Duma.

Chief of the Russian Interior Ministry Army Gen. Anatoliy Kulikov is dissatisfied with measures to ensure public order in the pre-election period, and with the organizational work of the Moscow police. Sources in law enforcement bodies said this is the major reason for the inspection.

Serious drawbacks were discovered in the course of several inspections at police posts in Moscow districts organized on the initiative of Kulikov himself, it was reported at a session attended by leaders of several services from the Russian Interior Ministry and Main Interior Department Wednesday.

Earlier on, the Interior Ministry leadership decided to adopt additional measures to ensure security in Moscow's streets and primarily in the metro, important sites and electoral districts on the eve and day of the December 17 parliamentary elections.

Additional forces, primarily interior troops and students from the Interior Ministry military colleges, will be assigned to the capital's police. Personnel of the Main Interior Department are on a higher level of alert from December 11, though in fact this has not interrupted from late 1994, due to the events in Chechnya.

Internal Troops To Guard Polling Places 'Countrywide'

MM1312165895 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 2

["Stop the Press" report by correspondent Anatoliy Usoltsev under the general heading: "Duma in Danger Zone"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Chelyabinsk — [passage omitted] Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov told our newspaper correspondent Viktor Vodolazhskiy the following:

"I am very well aware that [murdered] Russia Is Our Home [NDR] candidate Mikhail Lezhnev was the undisputed leader among the Duma candidates. The Central Electoral Commission is now deciding how to overcome this situation. Rescheduling the elections in this single-seat district is one of the options under examination."

Anatoliy Sobchak, cochairman of the Russian Federation President's Public Chamber and mayor of St. Petersburg, told ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent the following:

"It is not only Moscow and St. Petersburg which are drafting in cadets from internal forces' schools and additional contingents of police to patrol and guard polling places. This will be done countrywide. We agreed this at a recent meeting with Internal Forces Minister Kulikov."

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Rybkin Talks to OSCE Election Observers

LD1412121895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The results of the State Duma's work and the parliamentary elections in Russia were discussed at a meeting Ivan Rybkin and Nikolay Ryabov held with European observers.

Dozens of foreign parliamentarians, who will be observing the progress of the elections in various parts of Russia on behalf of European structures, today had their questions answered by Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov and State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin.

[begin Rybkin recording] The election race has been proceeding within the rules laid down by law. I believe the turnout will be at least 60 percent. As you know, according to our law a 25 percent turnout is sufficient. [end recording]

[Announcer] Answering questions put by parliamentarians from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], Rybkin said he regrets that a law on human rights envoys has not yet been adopted. Summing up the importance of the 500 laws adopted by the State Duma, he especially noted one on local self-government as the most important for the federation's constituent parts. The State Duma, the speaker said, has two important monitoring functions. It monitors the budget and the enforcement of laws. However, it cannot influence the way the government's work is shaped. The resignation by some ministers, Rybkin said, is due more to the president's will outside the framework of the Constitution than to pressure from deputies.

Firm Specializes in 'Criminal' Actions

LD1312194395 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 95

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The preelection struggle, in our initial stage of market economy, turns criminal at times. Today one of the candidates for the post of deputy reported that he had been approached by a certain Vasiliy Veshkin, who claimed to be a representative of a firm specialising in carrying out specialized actions during the election campaign.

This firm has a price list for customers: Staged scandals, for example, a car crash costs from $1,500 to 7,000; attacks on election campaign headquarters, fights, explosions cost from 5,000 to 15,000. The price list also includes kidnapping candidates' close relatives, causing trouble at rallies, and so on.

One would like to hope that this firm has gone bankrupt.

Government Fails To Compensate Media for Coverage

LD1412132995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1149 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 14 (INTERFAX) — The head of the All-Russia State Television and Radio Company (VGTRK) complained on Thursday the government had still not paid the company any compensation for the free election campaign videos for various political parties and groups.

The VGTRK has received "absolutely no compensation, not a kopek," though when this year's national budget was being put together last spring "we warned that there would be an election campaign and it would call for additional financial expenditure," VGTRK head Oleg Poptsov told INTERFAX.

He and Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov wrote a letter to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin asking for allocations to the state-run media.

In general, financing of the VGTRK this year, "as always, has been very bad: the amount received for nine months was approximately 54 percent of what was needed," Poptsov said. From October, the funding has been "normal," he said, "but nobody remembers that for the first three quarters of the year we received half (of the amount needed) and now the debts must be paid."

Media spokesman for Russian Public Television Aleksey Pushkov told INTERFAX his company had not had any compensation from the government for campaign videos either.

Regional Activities

Yeltsin Envoy Expects Chechen Elections To Be Valid

LD1412120295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Artem Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 14 (ITAR-TASS) — Plenipotentiary representative of the Russian president in Chechnya Oleg Lobov told ITAR-TASS today that he expects the turnout at the elections in Chechnya to be over 50 percent. Lobov notes that although the danger of terrorist acts remains, corresponding measures are being taken to prevent

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terrorism. Those who intend to disrupt the elections do not enjoy wide support among the population, Lobov added.

The elections of the head of Chechnya and deputies to the State Duma began in Groznyy and other settlements of Chechnya at 7:00 a.m. Thursday in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen Republic. The elections which began ahead of schedule will continue until December 17 inclusive.

Three candidate have been contesting the post of the head of Chechnya, including 45 year-old Mavsar Aduyev, who is a master of historical sciences and an editor of an independent newspaper, the "World Democratic Union", the now head of the Chechen government, 55-year-old Doku Zavgayev and 42 year-old chairman of the Chechen State Committee for affairs of the press and publishing business Lechi Saligov. Six candidates to the State Duma have been nominated from a single-mandate constituency.

Oleg Lobov believes that Doku Zavgayev has the best chance of being elected head of the Chechen republic.

CPRF, NDR, KRO, Yabloko Lead in Omsk Oblast

MK1412083695 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 13 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Svetlana Sukhova: "What Is Most Important in Siberia Is Calm and Stability"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The nearer 17 December, the more forecasts — and, to some extent, even clarity — there is about the regions' dominant political sympathies. As for Omsk Oblast, the local administration is more willing than many other oblasts to play its own game, letting none of the five front-runners — "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR], the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], "Yabloko," the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR], and the Congress of Russian Communities [KRO] — grab the limelight. Owing to this policy, the political predilections of its population can be described as moderate.

It Turns Out That Things Are Not That Bad

In the economy of Omsk Oblast considerable changes for the better are evident. First of all, this applies to the fuel and energy sector. The amount of foreign investment attracted by the oblast is also growing. A conference on "Banking Capital and Investment in Siberia" was recently held to discuss the problems of investment in Russia's eastern regions. Under the aegis of the "Siberian Agreement" association, an Investment Projects and Risk Insurance Fund and municipal security funds have been set up. The "Siberian Agreement" association, which is controlled by oblast administration chief Leonid Polezhayev and which has brought together a number of key Russian commercial banks, has already drawn up 13 investment projects worth a total of $1.88 billion. According to Polezhayev, the largest of them is the construction of an oil refinery with a capacity of 4.5 million tonnes of refined products per year (the project's estimated cost is about $810 million). In Polezhayev's words, in order to implement its program, "Siberian Agreement" plans to expand the network of its authorized banks, which currently includes Inkombank, Tokobank, ONEXIMbank, and Neftekhimbank.

Political Elite

A well-known feature of the Siberian mentality — a propensity for thoroughness and stability — has become fully evident in political life as well. The oblast administration chief's personal desire to avoid conflicts with various parties, too, played a significant part in normalizing the situation in Omsk. It is partly owing to his influence that the oblast can currently be listed among the moderate regions in terms of its residents' political preferences, even though in 1993 the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] came in first there with 21.15 percent of the vote, reform-minded "Russia's Choice" trailing it by more than 4 percent.

Local administration head Leonid Polezhayev enjoys unquestionable authority. The governor runs the oblast unopposed, something many of his counterparts from other regions can only envy. Since 1993 Polezhayev has confidently controlled the situation, relying while so doing on a party he himself created (which has been popularly nicknamed "the party of the administration") and which has been organizationally formalized as the "Omskoye Priirtyshye" ["Omsk Irtysh Region"] movement. Polezhayev's clout also has an economic underpinning: The governor has headed the council of the "Siberian Agreement" association since January 1994, when he replaced Novosibirsk Oblast administration head Mukha, who had fallen from grace.

"Omskoye Priirtyshye" is a well-structured organization, which has absorbed all oblast and rayon chiefs of various ranks and directors of defense enterprises. Naturally, the main goal of the party's activity is to retain power in the oblast. "Omskoye Priirtyshye" is actively involved in the election campaign as an integral part of the NDR. Still, although Polezhayev backed Chernomyrdin's idea, this does not mean that the NDR has obtained a loyal ally in his person. "Omskoye Priirtyshye" is aimed first of all at retaining the status quo. Moreover, it is not "top-ranking" bureaucrats at all who are running in the oblast as the NDR's candidates, the former preferring the status of "independents."

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1995 Elections

The main distinction of the previous parliamentary election from the current campaign is that, according to most polls, the LDPR has been replaced by the CPRF as the symbol of opposition. According to a poll conducted by the "Sotsium" polling center, 24.4 percent of the voters are intent on voting for Zyuganov's party. "[Russia Is] Our Home," backed by the oblast administration, is lagging behind. The CPRF's peak of popularity appears to have passed, however — a month ago it was supported by 31.1 percent. At the same time, the governor speaks pragmatically about the possibility of cooperation between "Omskoye Priirtyshye" and the CPRF. Thus, he is trying to eliminate the threat that a bloc of left-wing forces could come about in the oblast.

The APR, which is currently among the election race leaders, has until recently also had good prospects in Omsk. The reason for that is the existence of a solid agricultural sector in the oblast. As was the case with the CPRF, Polezhayev was careful to make contact with it before it is too late: The trade union of the agro-industrial sector and oblast administration bureaucrats actively cooperate in solving problems of the countryside. Not just the local branch, but also the federal APR leadership has given credit to the oblast administration's policy. But the latest polls show that the APR has lost some of its popular support. Polls conducted by the "Sotsium" center have demonstrated that only 2-3 percent of those polled back the Agrarians.

The democrats, who received considerable popular backing in 1993 (even though only on the federal list) could not consolidate the results of their victory in terms of creating a personnel and institutional base, and presently can scarcely expect to win a sizable percentage of the vote. The oblast branch of Russia's Democratic Choice [DVR] is losing popularity. This process has been exacerbated by the absence of a party organizational leader: Mr. Minzhurenko, former head of "Russia's Choice," lost touch with local realities upon becoming State Duma deputy. Attempts to set up a party on the eve of 17 December to unite fragmented democrats have so far been unsuccessful.

In the run-up to the elections, serious growth in the popularity of "Yabloko" and the KRO has been registered in the oblast. It is these two blocs that have capitalized on the percentage "lost" by the Communists — "Yabloko" is currently backed by 15.6 percent (against 12.6 percent a month ago), and the KRO's backing is up to 14.8 from 10.4 percent within the same period of time. The "Power to the People!" bloc has also improved its positions in Omsk Oblast (6.2 percent of supporters), having overtaken the Beer Lovers' Party. The LDPR, even though it is still one of the five leaders, has lost nearly one-third of its followers (5.8 percent). The NDR, the Party of Workers' Self-Government, Govorukhin's Bloc, and the Beer Lovers' Party also have a chance of clearing the 5-percent hurdle.

Thus, it is the four main groups — the CPRF, the NDR, the KRO, and "Yabloko" — that will be the main rivals on 17 December. But, to all appearances, the winner will be such in name only, because his margin of victory is unlikely to be more than 1-4 percent. So, in all likelihood, the goal of the administration head — to prevent a formidable opposition bloc from rivaling his power — can be seen to have been achieved. The balance of forces in single-seat districts shows that there are no clear leaders in any of them either. Yet representatives of the NDR, the DVR, and the CPRF stand a better chance of winning Duma seats.

St. Petersburg Election Campaign Reviewed

MM1412094895 VYBORY-95 WWW in Russian 16-22 Nov 95

[Unattributed report: "St. Petersburg" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Progress of Election Campaign, Candidates

Street campaigning is not very noticeable in the city. Certain candidates have begun to distribute leaflets to households. For instance, voters in Tsentralnyy District No. 211 have already received leaflets from two candidates — Nikita Ananov, entrepreneur and deputy of the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly, and State Duma Deputy Mikhail Kiselev (both "independents"). N. Ananov did this in the form of personalized addresses to specific voters, delivered to the apartments by courier, handed over against a signature recorded in a special log. According to rough calculations, this action, if taken on the scale of the whole district, could cost several billion rubles.

The city's mass media have reported the appearance of an Independent Coalition of Women of St. Petersburg, which has put forward an initiative for stepping up the election campaign, for which purpose the coalition intends to promote meetings between candidates and voters irrespective of the candidates' political views. Nothing is yet known about specific actions in pursuit of this initiative.

One of the candidates for Tsentralnyy District No. 211, Yuriy Shutov, has combined his election campaign with the start of a trial in which he is appearing as defendant. Shutov need now have no worries about how to inform

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the voters at large about himself — the journalists are doing it for him by covering court sessions in all the media.

Yu. Shutov is charged under five articles of the Criminal Code, including extortion by an organized group, unlawful possession of ammunition, and malicious hooliganism. Apart from Shutov, eight other people are involved in the case. Among the indictments laid against Shutov is that of organizing an attack on 19 September 1991 on Viktor Yugin (number three on the regional list of the "Power to the People!" association), then deputy of the Russian Federation and chairman of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company "Petersburg — Channel 5."

The investigation into this episode was based mainly on the hypothesis that it was revenge for the removal of Aleksandr Nevzorov's television program "600 Seconds" from the air (it is well known that Shutov was the sponsor of this television program). Let us observe that Yugin himself is not inclined to believe that Shutov was involved in the attack; indeed, in 1993, when Shutov ran for State Duma deputy, V. Yugin was his agent. Shutov used his court appearance to expound his entire life story before the journalists' tape recorders, depicting himself as a victim in the struggle against injustice.

The actress Yelena Drapeko, candidate for District No. 212, is making good use for campaigning purposes of the retrospective festival of S. Rostotskiy's movies, in which viewers will see her in the famous picture "The Dawn Is Quiet Here." The retrospective is organized by the "Spiritual Heritage" state-patriotic movement, of which Ye. Drapeko is regional branch chairman. The festival begins on 22 November, but the media have already reported Ye. Drapeko's remarks at a press conference devoted to this festival.

Visits

This week St. Petersburg had visits from leaders of a number of electoral associations: Irina Khakamada ("Common Cause"), Lyudmila Vartazarova (KRO [Congress of Russian Communities]), Yekaterina Lakhova ("Women of Russia"), Stanislav Gorovukhin (the bloc that bears his name), Aleksey Kazannik (PST [Party of Working People's Self-Government]), Gennadiy Zyuganov (CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation]), Sergey Kovalev (DVR-OD [Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats]), Arkadiy Volskiy (PPR-ST [Trade Unions and Industrialists of Russia-Union of Labor]), and Nikolay Shmelev ("My Fatherland"). They all gave interviews to the newspapers and held press conferences, and anyone who could appeared on television.

I. Khakamada and L. Vartazarova had the honor of being the stars of a 30-minute program, "In Good Time" ["Vovremya"] (a new "talk show" that is gaining popularity). All in all, the Petersburg media love Khakamada. Yet her bloc, "Common Cause," has no candidates in St. Petersburg and the bloc has not yet figured in sociological polls in St. Petersburg, so it can hardly expect any marked success here. Number three on the regional list of I. Khakamada's bloc is Margarita Filippova — the wife of Petr Filippov, candidate for District No. 211, who is well known in the city — who has not previously taken part in public politics and is head of the "Norma" Publishing House, set up by P. Filippov.

S. Govorukhin, at a press conference at the Russian-American press center, called St. Petersburg a "totally criminal city." Concerning the local authorities, he stated that he does not know much about the correlation of political forces in St. Petersburg, but "the more criminal a city is, the more it comes out in favor" of the present authorities, which rely on criminals. Here he let it be understood that he could tell us something very surprising about St. Petersburg Mayor A. Sobchak and is even considering whether to devote a couple of minutes to A. Sobchak in a pre-election television speech. What Govorukhin had in mind remained unknown. The only thing that is known is that Govorukhin was once cut to the quick by Sobchak's words to the effect that Govorukhin groundlessly extends his own criminal fantasies to our life. S. Govorukhin had a meeting behind closed doors with Yuriy Kravtsov, chairman of the St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly.

Concerning G. Zyuganov's visit, it can be noted that at a meeting with the trade union aktiv in the "Mayak" Palace of Culture and with voters in the "Gaz" Palace of Culture, the halls were filled to overflowing and the speaker was greeted rapturously and applauded tumultuously.

The visit by presidential aide Georgiy Satarov, on his first official visit to St. Petersburg in that capacity, must be deemed important and even unusual. All the indications are that the visit was organized by S. Tsyplyayev, the president's plenipotentiary representative in St. Petersburg — the main meeting was held in Federal House (the residence of the president's representative) and was attended by members of the Public Chamber (run by the president's representative). The aim of the visit was to clarify the situation regarding the possible postponement of the elections or amendments to the Law on Elections. At this meeting, as in his numerous statements in the Russian media during this period, G. Satarov indicated that the president will apparently submit amendments capable of clearing up possible complaints after the elections.

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Conflicts

The court hearing into the suit filed by Ella Polyakova, chairman of the "St. Petersburg Soldiers' Mothers" organization, against district electoral commission No. 213, has ended. The court deemed the district commission correct in refusing E. Polyakova's registration, and the commission decision remains in force. However, E. Polyakova intends to appeal to the Russian Federation Supreme Court. It is interesting that simultaneously with the court proceedings, the activity of this public organization was being checked out by the tax inspectorate, which had formerly shown no interest in it. Incidentally, a staffer of the tax inspectorate is running in the same district.

Organs of Power

The mayor of St. Petersburg has issued a directive "On the Procedure for the Placing of Campaigning and Information Materials in St. Petersburg Relating to the State Duma Elections." Territorial organs of the city administration are instructed to make available not later than 25 November special sites for the placing and posting of printed materials, and to ensure the availability at electoral precinct premises of special facilities for posting election materials, allocating equal space for each candidate. The placing of election materials is prohibited at monuments, obelisks, and historical buildings and premises, above the traffic lanes of roads and streets, and in urban public passenger transport (let us observe that in recent election campaigns in St. Petersburg it has been mainly the communists who have placed advertising materials in the saloons of buses and trolleybuses). It is also prohibited to place materials at buildings and premises under the ownership of St. Petersburg, with the exception of cases in which, by agreement with the City Center for the Placing of Advertising, special facilities have been installed which can be used for this purpose with the consent of the owner of the facility in question. Payment for the use of space for the siting of temporary structures carrying campaigning and information materials is to be in accordance with the regulations governing the placing and utilization of exterior advertising and information facilities in St. Petersburg, approved by the 11 September 1995 order of the director of the St. Petersburg City Hall department for amenities and highways, at 50 percent of the cost of space for commercial advertising.

Mass Media

Leading newspapers: SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, VECHERNIY PETERBURG [EVENING PETERSBURG], NEVSKOYE VREMYA, SMENA (in descending order of print run).

SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI

This newspaper (the former LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA) has as co-sponsor St. Petersburg City Hall, which owns a controlling block of shares in the joint-stock company. It is a semi-official organ. Most of the items are about problems of city life; politics, as a rule, is presented in the form of news agency items, and Russian and international politics predominates over city politics. It has no clearly expressed political personality, although it is notable for sharp criticism of the federal authorities (both the present authorities and "Gaydar's") over the policy leading to economic ruin and impoverishment of the population. It carries out free publication of the candidates' election materials (to begin 22 November). It has practically no coverage of the election campaign in the city, although it has published many items containing covert advertising for candidates (see the previous reviews), and candidates, moreover, who are openly or presumably close to city administration circles.

VECHERNIY PETERBURG

Coverage of the local election campaign has thus far amounted to purely informational materials (information on districts, lists of candidates, etc.).

NEVSKOYE VREMYA

A relatively young paper which has quickly gained authority. It was founded by Leningrad City Soviet in 1990 and "set free" by the same body in 1993, since when it has had no formal co-founders except for the editorial collective. A newspaper of manifestly democratic orientation, it tolerates a broad spectrum of opinion. The sponsor (or one of the sponsors) is the finance company "Lenstroymaterialy." The paper carries both open campaigning materials on the candidates and indirect advertising. A graphic example in the past week was the 16 November issue. It carries an open campaigning article under the banner headline "Elections From Within" (322 square centimeters) on Valeriy Filippov (general director of a major enterprise and chairman of the Promstroybank board), candidate for District no. 208, in the form of an interview with his image-maker. And next to it, under the rubric "Security," is a major journalistic item on the "case of Kharchenko," who is running in the same district as V. Filippov. The investigation into this case has been in progress for three years, and there have been no new developments in it at this moment that could revive the faded interest of journalists. The main theme of the article is that the case was fabricated and reflects the political struggle in the upper echelons of power in Russia.

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The Newspaper SMENA

This is under the control of Astrobank (Yuriy Derevyanko, general director of the "Smena" Publishing House and president of Astrobank, is running in District No. 209 for the DVR-OD). It has traditionally been oriented toward Gaydar's party (admittedly not so energetically in recent times as two years ago; apparently the calmer tone is due to a substantial renewal of the collective of authors). Hence the "enemy image" that has developed — apart, naturally, from the communists — is of "Yabloko" and its leader G. Yavlinskiy, who, for reasons of his own ambitions, does not want to join forces with Gaydar. Thus, this week an article was published by commentator Aleksandr Shchelkin, known for his dislike of Yavlinskiy, in which Yavlinskiy is directly blamed for the problem that has arisen recently over the "unconstitutionality" of the Law on Elections and the possible illegitimacy of the future State Duma: "When the 'Yabloko' leader began his outrageous move against the Central Electoral Commission, he could hardly have foreseen all the consequences of the crisis he provoked." ..."The Supreme Court has joined in the parties' struggle for power at the unwitting behest of Mr. Yavlinskiy." The newspaper covers the election campaign in St. Petersburg actively and publishes the federal and regional lists of the electoral associations, with descriptions of the blocs and the main figures. Skilled analytical reviews on the subject of Russian and Petersburg politics and political portraits are traditional for the newspaper. Open and indirect campaigning materials are published. In the time that has elapsed since the start of the election campaign SMENA has published three times by its general director, Yuriy Derevyanko, a candidate for District No. 209.

The State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company "Petersburg — Channel 5" has begun daily relays of election statements by the federal electoral associations. This is extremely convenient for Petersburg candidates in single-seat districts nominated by the associations — they have the opportunity to show themselves to the voters within the framework of this air time in addition to the air time made available for the districts. This has already been utilized successfully by, for instance, candidates G. Tomchin and Yu. Rybakov (DVR-OD), Yu. Terentyev ("Communists-Working Russia-For the Soviet Union"), V. Serdyukov (St. Govorukhin's Bloc), and Ye. Kirichenko and Ye. Zaytsev ("Independents" Bloc).

Daily statements by candidates on the radio have begun (50 minutes per district; districts where there are a large number of candidates are presented in two batches).

The State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company "Petersburg — Channel 5" has announced that it will not make available paid television and radio air time to candidates.

Data From Sociological Studies

A poll carried out by the SNITs [expansion unknown] in October (1,097 respondents) looked at whose opinions voters heed when making their choice.

The questions:

1. "In order not to make any mistake in your choice of a candidate deputy for your electoral district, do you want the opinion of the most respected people in Russia and our city?" (Question put only to those who had definitely decided to participate in the elections.)

Yes, I do	52 percent
No, I don't	42 percent
Don't know	6 percent

2. "Whose opinion about the candidate will be most important to you?" (This question was not answered by those who do not want anyone's opinion. The replies total more than 100 percent because respondents were allowed to choose not more than two options.) The percentage given is a percentage of the number of those who answered this question.

Politicians	37
Well-known television presenters	28
Cultural personalities	14
Science personalities	9
Well-known entrepreneurs	9
Popular actors	2
Religious figures	1
Representatives of other professions and forms of activity	7
Don't know	26

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3. In order to identify how important the seal of approval of an electoral bloc is in electing a candidate for a single-seat district, the following question was asked:

"In the coming elections, we will vote twice: for a political party, and for a candidate for our own district. Some voters intend to vote the same way, that is, to support the candidate from the party that they voted for on the first ballot paper. Others do not. What are you most likely to do?" (percentage of the number of those who have definitely decided to take part in the elections)

Don't know yet	54
Intend to support candidate from the same association	39
Don't intend to support that candidate	7

4. Answers to the above question from supporters of the leading electoral associations who have definitely decided to take part in the elections:

[Column A: "sympathizers with association"; column B: "intend to vote for that association's candidate"; column C: "Don't know yet"; column D: "don't intend to vote for that association's candidate"]

A	B	C	D
Yabloko	44	49	7
Russia Is Our Home	45	49	6
Russia's Democratic Choice	54	46	—
CPRF	62	29	9
KRO	46	46	8

Election Guidelines

TsIK Bans Election Propaganda 16-17 Dec

LD1312231195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2056 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (INTERFAX) — Russian election blocs and associations, political parties and independent candidates will not be entitled to continue their election propaganda on the day before the election, December 16, as well as on December 17 itself, Central Electoral Commission Secretary Aleksandr Veshnyakov told INTERFAX Wednesday.

According to the election law, the election campaign stops a day before the elections, Veshnyakov recalled. "Saturday is a day to meditate over all the information the elector has received from election propaganda, while Sunday, the election day, the elector will thoughtfully vote for who he thinks is suitable," he added.

Opinion polls, prognoses, previous election results and other electoral research cannot be published three days before the elections, Veshnyakov underlined. The goal of this step is to prevent excessive pressure on the elector. "Moreover, sometimes sociological polls and their conclusions are somewhat biased or unprofessional, to say the least," he added.

Forecasts & Commentary

'Extremist' Parties Lose in Servicemen's Exit Poll

MM1312161795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by correspondent Valeriy Yakov: "They Voted First"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Only a few days remain before the State Duma elections, but the collection of the votes of those who either live in remote areas or will be far away from the polling places on election day proper is in full swing. These include missilemen, Northern Fleet sailors, and other servicemen on stand-by alert.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent was told by Nikolay Burbyga, chief of a Defense Ministry directorate, that an exit poll of 3,000 servicemen showed that the majority prefer stability, security, and continuity of the course of economic reforms: Some 30 percent of them voted for Russia Is Our Home and 15 percent for the Communists. The remaining votes were basically allocated among the center blocs, while the odious and extremist parties came out losers.

Chernomyrdin: 'We Are Finding Solutions'

MM1312172995 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No. 50, Dec 95 (signed to press 12 Dec 95) pp 1, 3

[Interview with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by Natalya Zhelnorova and Vladislav Starkov; place and date not given: "V. Chernomyrdin: Russia Is My Home"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Viktor Stepanovich, we want to talk with you about

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life and about power. Look what has happened. The democrats won by fighting officials and their privileges. Now everything has gone back to the way it was but in geometrical progression. Is that normal? What is to be done?

[Chernomyrdin] The bureaucratic apparatus must be cut back. And above all the ministry and committee apparatus. Otherwise there will be no confidence.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] But what confidence can there be in the authorities when there is such crime in the country?

[Chernomyrdin] Measures to struggle against crime are obvious to us. I do not want to talk about them now. But these measures are realistic. We must do some serious work. The people expect it of us. We must have a tough approach toward criminals and carry o[illegible]nconditionally the sentences which are imposed.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Right up to the death sentence?

[Chernomyrdin] Right up to that if that is the court decision. It is a question of authority! At the same time there are many people in prison who should not be kept behind bars. They only become worse. Of course I am in favor of declaring amnesties more often but we must struggle mercilessly against real criminals, particularly against organized crime.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Mavrodi and the owner of "Vlastilina" are walking around freely....

[Chernomyrdin] Pugacheva came to me recently and said: "I suffered at the hands of 'Vlastilina' as well. And how."

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Pugacheva was probably asking for something?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, about the repair of the "Forum" movie theater handed over to her as a theater of song. I said to her: "Don't worry. We shall help you. Your job is to sing or to teach singing." We only have one Pugacheva. It is awkward for her to act as a petitioner.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Some people's job is to sing, the job of others is to write and of others still to manage people. Zyuganov asserts that it is not a question of the system — it is merely necessary to change the people at the helm.

[Chernomyrdin] That is a very profound error. They were leading us to the victory of communism.... If they had led us to something else we would also have gone. Going from "one victory to the next" is the greatest invention of propaganda.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Today the government is facing a barrage of criticism. When you speak of stability people object: "The people at the top have stability but we have no memory of it...."

[Chernomyrdin] We are doing everything to ensure that there is a stable situation in the country. It is impossible to create in disorder. We must calm down. I can see that many people are dissatisfied. But how can you be satisfied when your pension or salary is not paid on time. But even before, what happened? I remember arriving in my native village. Sowing work was under way but at 1000 hours the collective farm vehicle was standing outside my twin brother's house. And it stood there all day. I asked him: "Why aren't you at work?" And he replied: "They can manage without me. Anyway 120 rubles [R] is enough for me! Look in the store, there is nothing there. Why do I need more money?"

And, as the director of a very large plant, my wages were R320. For my great services by a government decision it was once decided to give me a personal merit salary. And they did. The minister probably thought I would fall at his feet in gratitude. Look, a special decision from Kosygin has added a whole R30 to my salary!

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] When you joined the government it was hard to believe you would become a real marketer....

[Chernomyrdin] Why not? After all, I have been in independent work for a long time and I have always believed that the Russian knows how to work. But he needs the conditions so that he depends on no one and is not humiliated by anyone. And that is possible only with the market.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Taxes are crazy, bribes to officials are enormous, racketeering is mad, and wages are not being paid to workers in the budget-funded sector. The people are not averse to the market but are you, the authorities, preventing this?

[Chernomyrdin] That is why I am in a hurry to do everything for market conditions to start to work. As yet we have no one seriously working under market conditions. There is only talk. And how. Do not forget that the structure of industry was 70 percent militarized. In Udmurtia, for instance, 73 percent of enterprises were defense enterprises. Is the republic to blame for that? And who asked it when they constructed the defense industry there?

Today there is much in the national economy that must be changed and structural restructuring in industry and other sectors must be carried out more vigorously. Conversion (normal conversion, of course!) will make

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it possible to replace the defense industry with output people need. Then those who are working there will not consider themselves superfluous. I am sorry that we cannot always find the right solutions rapidly.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The government was created to resolve everything sensibly.

[Chernomyrdin] We are finding solutions but time and money are needed for it.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] OK, how much time do you need?

[Chernomyrdin] It depends what for. Sometimes we are wasting it. And 1995 is election here, it would be better if it were a normal year. The country has now entered a period of stabilization. And I judge this by the following sign. Often a defense plant director comes and says: "OK, Viktor Stepanovich, I do not need anything from you. Just tell me the truth: What will the state order be? I shall find the rest." And that is balm to my soul. But before that for two years running they would grab me by the throat: "Give me the money, give me the money!"

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] In your opinion is it a mistake that the Duma was elected for just two years?

[Chernomyrdin] A very profound mistake. Look, whose nerves is the Duma spoiling most of all? Mine, of course. But it is possible to work with this Duma. The deputies have begun to understand what's what. This year there was not a single question which we did not "thrash out to the end." They adopted the budget....

V.S. Believes That Chubays Is Now Quite Different

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Do you have tricks in working with subordinates? For instance, Moscow Government Vice Premier V. Resin, a very experienced construction worker, once said to you that he prefers never to dismiss anyone. He either forces people to work or they go of their own accord. What is your principle of management?

[Chernomyrdin] I used to dismiss people but I never jettisoned someone who had been dismissed. Any mistake can be forgiven but I do not tolerate deception. After all, that is the difficulty. When a person has reached an important post and knowledge and money has been invested him that must be valued, it is an asset to society.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] But perhaps the person himself makes poor use of this asset? Good has been invested in him but evil is exuded from him. Are there not people like that in the government now?

[Chernomyrdin] There are.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] And what will you do with them?

[Chernomyrdin] We shall find other work for these people. They are less than 20 percent.

I am often asked: Why do you hold on to Chubays? But the 1995 model Chubays is quite different from the 1991-1992 model. He had a magnificent knowledge of theory but did not know how to implement it in practice. Chubays only had to visit a mine to realize that a miner's work cannot be compared with a laboratory technician's work.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] But you are a politician and you realize that in defending him you are taking the blows intended for Chubays. Moreover, the question immediately arises: Why are you defending him so zealously? What is it that links you?

[Chernomyrdin] But if Chubays were to drag the government down that would be another matter. But I can see that he is carrying himself and pushing others, so to speak.

Chernomyrdin Has no "Gazprom" Shares

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] They say that he has become a ridiculously rich man as a result of privatization. And that you have become rich with him. And that is why you are not "surrendering" Chubays.

[Chernomyrdin] I understand that as a joke.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] There are too many questions on this score, people do not feel like joking about it.

[Chernomyrdin] I cannot say whether Chubays is rich or poor. I do not know. I think that he is living like everyone — on his wages. Now about myself. After all, what is wealth? With all the supplements my salary now is about R2.5 million. But I became a big director when I was 33. And my salary has always been above average. Even before 1992 I was quite well off. If I needed an automobile I bought one. When I wanted a dacha I constructed one over the course of eight years. When I needed money I sold my "Volga" automobile, which I loved very much. I have a house, an apartment, my children are grown up and working. Many people are hinting about some "Gazprom" shares. But when I was in "Gazprom" there were no shares. And when there were shares I was already working here and by law did not have the right to own them. Although I put so much effort into that organization and have nothing from it! Neither shares nor dividends.

I once wanted to invite a former Council of Ministers deputy chairman to work in the government. He asked

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me: "Have you gone mad? I earn as much in a day as you earn in a year." Well, by working at "Gazprom" I would earn far more. All these lists according to which I am almost the richest man in the country I find laughable!

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Viktor Stepanovich, the people always find everything out. Documentary confirmation or refutation of your words could be provided by certain well-wishers. Anyway, if you are often included on lists of the richest people in Russia, why don't you object?

[Chernomyrdin] I consider it degrading to explain myself on this topic. You see, Boris Fedorov blurts out: "Chernomyrdin has 5 percent of the shares in 'Gazprom.'"

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Logically, one could conclude: Since you don't object to what your own former finance minister says, it must mean you really are rich.

[Chernomyrdin] Of course in the West people would file a law suit immediately. But for me, it is degrading even to explain myself.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You want to close the subject with that. Yu. Luzhkov goes to court and wins cases. We would like to publish declarations of the income of members of the government, but for some reason nobody is in any hurry to provide them.

[Chernomyrdin] I am not opposed to publishing my declaration.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Do you know that mainly elderly people will turn out for these elections, and do you know who they will vote for?

[Chernomyrdin] And the bitter "fruits" of their vote will come down not to them, but to their children and grandchildren — young people in general. Young people must not stand aside today and allow someone else to choose their fate.... Young people will be plunged back into the past. I wish to say to the older generation that I have a great sense of guilt before them. Elderly people have been put in a very difficult position. There have been mistakes, but we will rectify them. But we must not turn back! That will be the same blind alley that we were in for so many years!

The Premier Would Not Pay Taxes Either, in Our Shoes

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You promise all kinds of good things, but in real life — crime here, taxes there....

[Chernomyrdin] We will reduce taxes. The tax system should provide incentives for the producer, not tie his hands. With a tax system like this, I also would have wondered more than once how to get out from under it.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Supposing you reduce taxes, does that mean you will collect even fewer funds?

[Chernomyrdin] An intolerable tax burden puts people in a position where they avoid paying taxes. The barter system and "black-market cash" spring up, with money being passed around in suitcases. Experience shows that by reducing taxes we increase the collection rate, that is, the state loses nothing.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What resources will you use to increase the promised payments to the population?

[Chernomyrdin] Taxes on increasing production. I am confident that production will work better. We should have output that is competitive on any market. We will be better dressed, too. And the best cars will be our own.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] How are our cars going to get better?

[Chernomyrdin] I said once to general directors Pugin of the Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant and Borodin (of AZLK [Lenin Komsomol Motor Vehicle Plant]): "Unless you make a Russian car up to the standard of foreign ones, life itself will bring our plants to a halt. [no closing quotemarks as published] I wonder who is going to buy them, at a cost of 35 million rubles? A car costs huge sums of money, and it grinds to a halt literally outside the factory gate. They themselves doubtless drive a Mercedes. Although the plant has skilled workers and modern equipment. What else do you need? Make good cars!

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Why are you refusing the possible post of president?

[Chernomyrdin] Because that is not a matter for me today. I have been working with Boris Nikolayevich for a long time and I see how he makes strategic decisions. That is precisely the kind of president Russia should have — bold, well prepared. Of course, nature abhors a vacuum. But I don't understand: Why should Chernomyrdin oppose Yeltsin? I am with him, I have gained a lot, learned a lot from him, although I also had and have some skills of my own. And we understand each other at the slightest hint.

His Wife Sees Through Him. What About Us?

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What is your base in life, what do you rely on?

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[Chernomyrdin] I am a man who has achieved everything himself, with his own hands. Nobody helped me up, everything about me is ordinary. I am from the countryside. There is only one unusual thing — I am always at work.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Incidentally, we know your native village is in pretty good condition. After all, the principle is this: If a man has forgotten about his own village, how can he look after the country?

[Chernomyrdin] I was there not so long ago, in fact. Whenever I fly to Orenburg, I always go to my village — it is 70 km from the city. I still have relatives there. My elder brother recently died suddenly, he lived on our street, where my great grandfather lived.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] And what useful things have you done for your native village?

[Chernomyrdin] I could, of course, have done more, but thus far they have brought gas to the settlement, built a good school, repaired the teachers' house, asphalted the roads, and tidied up the village cemetery. People are thinking of building, and are already building, a church there, too. But as the saying goes: "God helps those who help themselves."

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You are always beautifully and elegantly dressed. No doubt that takes time too?

[Chernomyrdin] It's thanks to my wife. She understands more about clothes than I do. But I've always liked to dress well, I even went hungry to do so in my youth. Yes, there was a time when I would spend my whole grant on fashionable pants, and then get through the month as best I could.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What is you relationship with your family? Do you talk about politics at home?

[Chernomyrdin] My sons sometimes try to. The younger one criticizes me more than anyone.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Where do they work?

[Chernomyrdin] One son worked in the Arctic for six years and in Urengoy for six years. And now he has been working at "Gazprom" for 10 years. My second son works there too. They both have shares. I warned the "Gazprom" leadership: Don't even think of doing anything special for them because of me.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] And does your wife keep you informed about everyday life?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, she does. My wife sees through everything, as they say (laughs). I come in, and she starts lecturing me. But on important matters, on business, especially state business, I never consult my wife. I make all the decisions myself, that is how I was raised, from my youth.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] So it seems that women, according to you, are fools, dumb creatures, since you don't listen to their opinion. Isn't that why the result is war, refugees, tears?...

[Chernomyrdin] It's not because of that. I believe a man should provide for the family, should be the boss, and not transfer the difficulties of life onto the woman. How he does that, even if he has to hold down five jobs, that's his affair. You can't drag your wife into all your problems. She has enough of her own.

Yavlinskiy: 'We Will Overcome Russia's Crisis'

MM1412103995 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No. 50, Dec 95 (signed to press 12 Dec 95) p 5

[Interview with Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy under the Yabloko Public Association logo by unnamed journalist: "Yavlinskiy: "Peer Into the Eyes of Those for Whom You Are Voting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, you have created the image of an intelligent but solitary politician. You do, of course, have both the Yabloko faction and the Economic and Political Research Center, but you do not seem to have any well-known people apart from V. Lukin and M. Zadornov. With whom, then, do you intend to enter office and even carry out reforms?

[Yavlinskiy] I have never striven to get well-known people involved in politics. Professionalism is the main criterion here, and it encompasses everything else: efficiency, honesty, decency.... Professionalism does not always go hand in hand with being well known, particularly in politics. We have our own "stars," and I can give you their names: Tatyana Yarygina, Sergey Ivanenko, Aleksey Mikhaylov, Sergey Mitrokhin, Aleksey Melnikov, and Aleksey Arbatov. We have many other professionals, too, in addition to them, including Duma candidates from the regions: Mikhail Yemelyanov from Rostov-na-Donu and Svetlana Gvozdeva from Yekaterinburg, among others, for example. It is simply difficult to enumerate them all. We feel pretty confident because we know we are not going to show ourselves up or be bored in the Duma: We are all going there to work rather than indulge in self-publicity. Incidentally, according to the polls, Yabloko has a pretty good recognition factor.

I want to say something else, too. There is a pretty large number of capable people who remain for the time being out of sight, as it were. Some of them occupy responsible posts, some work in business, people who

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are helping our rivals in the democratic movement in this campaign. We maintain close ties with them, and they will soon be involved in the next stage of the political struggle.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] It is clear that you mean the Russian presidential campaign here. What, by the way, is your big idea, what will be your movement's doctrine in the future elections? How will you differ from other democratic and nondemocratic movements and parties? Everyone, after all, says the same thing, they chiefly talk about improving life. Are there any really new and — most importantly — powerful ideas which can be taken seriously and, moreover, are capable of gaining a following?

[Yavlinskiy] We adopt a serious approach to the presidential elections because we realize that our country's fate will depend to a large extent on who heads the state. To us the presidency is not an end in itself, but merely a means. We also realize that you cannot aspire to the leading role without a serious national concept. We have such a concept, it is undergoing elaboration, and it can be encapsulated today roughly as follows: "There must be no poverty in Russia!" We want to dispose of this degrading issue once and for all. I will add just one thing. This global idea affects the nature and character of the traditional Russian state, the whole economic situation, and society as a whole. This is a really national concept. Our manifesto for the parliamentary elections is the first stage in the realization of this idea. That is what we are setting our minds to, racking our brains over.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] That is most intriguing. When will we get to hear the details?

[Yavlinskiy] Very soon. And you can read our manifesto right now.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The future will have to wait, let's get back to the present. Your slogans for this election campaign are: "We Are Not Combating Communism. We Are Combating Poverty!" and "There Will Be No Russia Without You and Your Legacy." This constitutes the "visible" part of your future doctrine, does it not? Could you be more specific, please?

[Yavlinskiy] We entered the election with a number of manifesto slogans, which include several others in addition to those you cite. They speak for themselves and must be understood as they stand — literally. We have already spoken in detail about communism, specifically on the pages of your weekly in a memorable discussion with the leader of the Communist Party.

The second slogan reflects our understanding of the motherland. We think that the concept of the motherland remains abstract without the inclusion of people, their lives, and their legacy. This has been selfishly exploited not only by the authorities (and, moreover, not just today's authorities), who play ducks and drakes with this far from trifling term. They always write the word "Motherland" with a capital letter, embody it into huge insensitive memorials adorned with swords or bayonets, and always try to persuade us that everyone must cherish it and even "die in the struggle for it." Whereas the motherland is a purely personal, almost intimate concept. The motherland is the fragile, tangible world which immediately surrounds us. This world is the world of each and everyone of us, the world of real people: The world of Petr, Vasiliy, and Masha is our description of the motherland and we cannot conceive of Russia without this world.

We have another slogan — "There Must Be No Wars in Russia! We Are Going To Put an End to Violence!" Does this need to be explained? Does the country have the right to fight against its own citizens? And fight in such a manner! Does our state have the right to spend huge resources on war while forgetting the old and the disabled or the fact that schoolchildren need textbooks and that medicine, science, and agriculture have been neglected? These are all rhetorical questions? It is clear that our state does not have much of a conscience. But we are very seriously intent on making our authorities have a conscience, and that is also one of our slogans.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You want to make the authorities have a conscience and wish to take office yourselves in order to do this? First the Duma and then the presidency. But how is your conscience and the conscience of politicians in general to be checked? Can politics really be conscientious? Just listen to what politicians say. Do you think that you are better than the others?

[Yavlinskiy] These are very correct and proper questions to put, but it is not for me to answer them. I am not actually going to promise "to put my head on the block." But I do want to say the following to the readers, who will literally in a matter of days be voting and will hold the fate of the country in their hands for an instant or, perhaps, even several hours.

Examine carefully those whom you are voting for, scrutinize their leaflets, pay close attention to their speeches, and, furthermore, look them closely in the eye. Tell me, were we all really born yesterday? Can we really all be hoodwinked again when our interest and the lives of our children and grandchildren are at stake? I cannot believe that. Be as fastidious on 17 December as when you choose a husband or a wife: Be careful, ultimately, what you buy. Go through every

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word, action, and all the various promises with a fine-tooth comb. My colleagues and I are ready to undergo any test, any poll. We look you straight in the eye and do not avert our gaze because we have something to tell you, something to offer, something that we can do together. That is why we say with such boldness and confidence: "We have the knowledge, the will, and the strength. We will overcome Russia's crisis."

Communist Bloc Leaders Make Preelection Comments

MM1412104095 Moscow PRAVDA ROSSII in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1

["Word Before the Elections" feature citing Gennadiy Zyuganov, Svetlana Goryacheva, and Aman Tuleyev]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Gennadiy Zyuganov: "Without Socialist Development Russia Will Be Unable To Emerge From Crisis"

This is the basic, driving [vektornyy] idea. As the course of the development of events shows, the situation in the country could change just as drastically as it did in August 1991. For the political regime in Russia has lost the support not only of the poorest section of the population but also of those social strata on which it relied when it seized power: the petite and grande bourgeoisie, a section of the creative and scientific intelligentsia, and the emergent private farmers. The Chechen crisis finally compromised the ruling regime. The only possible, peaceful way out of the crisis is seven or eight steps taken consecutively.

They include changing the socioeconomic course and forming a government of people's trust. Putting an end to mocking of the Army, abandoning ideological revenge, repaying debts to peasants without delay, taking emergency measures to combat corruption, crime, and banditry, and restoring a renewed union state.

The logic of the development of events and the objective tendencies of Russia's self-preservation, which, as has been proved historically, have repeatedly saved the country, allow us to state definitely even today that "democracy" in its present manifestation will inevitably be replaced by a socioeconomic and political system which accords with the people's national spirit. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] has expressed the essence of this system in a concentrated form in its motto: "Russia. Labor. People's power. Socialism."

Svetlana Goryacheva: "A Warm Summer Will Definitely Come to Our Beautiful Fatherland!"

During these pre-election weeks I have traveled through the Far East and Central Russia. Working people everywhere have been hurt. Such humiliation has never been seen before. Such apathy did not exist before, in Soviet times, when there was only one candidacy to choose from. Therefore I wish to say: You must not sit on the fence now but go to the polling places and vote for sensible people, for the CPRF.

There have been troubles in the Russian state before. But Russia emerged from them thanks to the fact that better qualities manifested themselves in people at times of trial: collectivism, self-sacrifice, mutual assistance — in short, everything that goes by the Russian word "SOBORNOST" [togetherness].

I am making a lot of speeches just now, and every audience asks me this question: "Svetlana Petrovna, you have already been on the Mount Olympus of power. You got it badly in the neck there. But you have agreed to run for election as a deputy again. Why?"

I make this reply. Only a mean person can leave his sick mother in the lurch. For me, my Russia is my mother. As long as I see her suffering and see what a bad and uncomfortable life honest citizens are leading in my fatherland, I shall be politically active. Whether some people like this or not. When my motherland prospers, when women start smiling and give their husbands sons and daughters, when men earn enough, when young people are able to study according to their talent and not according to the thickness of the wallet, when our dear old people get rest and a well-off life and are not afraid of being buried in polyethylene bags, then I shall leave big politics without any regret and shall busy myself in my kitchen and with my family.

I wish to say one other thing. The elections to the State Duma are a dry run before the presidential election, a dress rehearsal. I want people to understand the seriousness of the situation, and I want to warn them: This regime, which has on its conscience the plundering of the country, blood in the center of the capital, and the war in Chechnya, will not walk away from power that easily.

Understandably, the regime endeavors to use all means to discredit the CPRF. But, good people, each of you has the example before your eyes. If you recall how rayon party committee secretaries lived and how the present potentates arrange things, it will at once be clear who is who. As for me, I believe in the CPRF's candidates. I believe that our team together with the sensible forces in the Duma will be able to use the experience of the

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present deputies and the deputies of Supreme Soviets and to turn life in the direction of the working people's interests.

Aman Tuleyev: "The Results of Labor Depend Not on the Forms of Ownership But on Labor"

Voters are intimidated several times a day from the television screen: The Communists will come to power and will start taking away and nationalizing things again. To make everything clear at once, it has to be said that this is a deception, a very real, shameless deception because they fear that they will have to answer for all these "democratic" outrages. So they mislead normal people. For the results of labor depend not on the forms of ownership but on the ability to manage and control this property. How much recent confirmation of this there has been!

The majority of privatized enterprises have started working worse than when they were state enterprises. The workers' working conditions have deteriorated significantly. Hundreds of complaints are being received that the work day exceeds 12 hours at certain enterprises. People put up with it only because they are afraid of losing their job.

The Communist Party places social protection for the population at the head of all socioeconomic policy. In the Kuzbass, for example, we try to help people even with our small capacities: The oblast's legislative assembly has introduced free travel to cultivated plots from May through October, we pay out pension supplements, albeit small ones, and we target help for the needy. We endeavor to support veterans in every possible way. This is progress. For we were the source of the reckless freebooters who brought to power incompetent people with few links with production or people's lives. I would not take on some ministers as postmasters! Tell me, how could our managers hit upon the idea of not regulating transport and electricity tariffs? Mined coal has been burning in our Kuzbass, while people have been freezing in Maritime Kray and the kray's leaders have concluded coal delivery contracts with foreign countries!

What would I start with? I realize that the revival must begin with the regions. The first thing I would do would be to find sensible economic planners and managers. They would adjust taxes so that enterprises can earn and find it profitable to produce output rather than resell something or lease premises as warehouses for foreign commodities. Second, I would see how to help the countryside so as to feed people our own food. Third, all measures must be taken to overcome all organized and unorganized crime — to strengthen law enforcement organs and set up people's and workers' detachments to support them.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 14 Dec

LD1412075295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0714 GMT 14 Dec 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 14 (ITAR-TASS) — TRUD on the Chechen Republic elections which begin on Thursday.

According to the findings of a sociological survey, published in the newspaper, 73 per cent of respondents have opted to participate in the voting in elections to the State Duma of Russia, and 92 per cent to take part in the election of the Republic's leader. The newspaper points out that the armed supporters of Dzhokhar Dudayev continue to vigorously oppose the holding of elections in Chechnya.

IZVESTIYA on the same subject.

"Elections will be held in Chechnya but what will follow them — a war?" is the headline of an article by the newspaper's correspondent in Groznyy.

"Zealous Dudayev militants, who are prepared to pay any price for a victory, obviously account for more than one-third of the population of Chechnya. An overwhelming majority of them is concentrated in the southern mountainous part of the republic. Most of the Chechen President's supporters come from that region. The conduct of elections there is physically impossible.

"In Groznyy as well as in the republic's north, a sufficient number of people have decided to go to the polls. The number of votes to be collected there will apparently be quite enough for elections to be recognised as valid. However, the elections may seal the split in Chechen society, The holding of the elections finally renders a continuation of the talks with the Dudayev militants hopeless. A frustration of the truce and a resumption of hostilities seem inevitable," the correspondent believes.

PRAVDA on the elections in Chechnya.

The newspaper believes that success of elections would be a chance in favour of peace. However, the newspaper doubts that elections will take place. "It is now difficult to say how Chechnya will vote and whether it will vote at all. Over five years of the domination of the criminal regime in the republic, more than 200,000 people, mainly Russian-speaking ones, fled the republic, 30,000 vanished without a trace, and many thousands were killed during combat operations. These wounds are bleeding. People in areas, where Dudayev's field commanders exercise their sway, will hardly be allowed to go to the polls. In Groznyy itself, militants have opened fire 30 times."

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on the missing TU-154 airliner.

Viktor Ishayev, Chairman of a government commission and administration chief of Khabarovsk Territory, has told the newspaper that the search for the plane, which was reported missing on December 7, is being conducted within a corridor 200 kilometres long and 80 kilometres wide. The searchers' attention is most likely to be focused on the Sukpay area where mountain ranges and vast tracts of taiga predominate.

"Unfortunately, the information, made public on December 13, that the remains of the airliner were ostensibly spotted in an area 120 km north-east of Sukpay Station due to aerospace photography, has not been confirmed," the newspaper writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA analyses causes which influence the results and duration of the search for the airliner.

"The supposed area of the fall of the TU-154 is practically uninhabited. There are wooded mountains with an altitude of up to 2,000 and more metres. The thickness of the snow cover there is 1.5-2 metres. It was heavily snowing on the night when the airliner disappeared and on the next day. The vastness of the area, measured in thousands of square kilometres, is another factor. The airliner was falling from an altitude of 10,600 metres. It could deviate from the airway to a long distance".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on similar cases of planes never found.

"Instances when planes were never found after crashes are few. In September 1972, an IL-18 left Sochi and fell into the sea four kilometres from the shore. The airliner was never found. A military An-22 plane, which disappeared while on a flight over the Atlantic, was not found in 1972."

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Chernomyrdin Hails Signing of Bosnia Peace Accord

LD1312133095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1225 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov, Artem Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 13 (Itar-Tass) — "The signing of an agreement on peaceful settlement in Bosnia to take place in Paris on December 14 is the most important achievement which will put an end to the worst massacre in Europe in recent years," said Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at a news conference today. He stressed that European countries had done a great deal to establish peace in this region and that "Russia had made its own big contribution to stop this war."

The Prime Minister said that the peace agreement would be signed by heads of the republics of former Yugoslavia and their signatures would be attested by heads of states — members of the Contact Group, including Russia. In this connection, Chernomyrdin stressed that all those who will put their signatures under this document bear a great responsibility.

At the same time, much work will have to be done to ensure the realization of the reached agreements so that in the long run, peace will triumph in this area of Europe, the Prime Minister noted.

Phones Yeltsin About Signing Bosnia Deal

LD1312195495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 13 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec. 13 (TANJUG) — Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will on Thursday sign the agreement on Bosnia on behalf of Russia.

Chernomyrdin on Wednesday informed by phone President Boris Yeltsin, who is recovering in a sanatorium close to Moscow, that the Russian delegation is ready to participate in the signing ceremony in Paris.

Chernomyrdin said on Wednesday that the countries which will sign the peace agreement for Bosnia are taking "the biggest responsibility."

"The bloodiest war in the centre of Europe has been stopped" due to international efforts, Chernomyrdin told a press conference in Moscow.

Informed sources in Moscow said that in Paris Chernomyrdin would meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton, who said he wished to discuss the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Russia.

Asked by journalists when the decree would be lifted according to which Russia had taken part in the implementation of the sanctions on Yugoslavia, Chernomyrdin answered indirectly saying that the sanctions have been "lifted."

Chernomyrdin said he expects Russian firms to renew cooperation with the Yugoslav economy and that a number of Russian businessmen had already taken corresponding steps in this direction.

Duma, the Russian parliament's lower house, this year adopted two draft laws on Russia's emerging out of the regime of sanctions, but so far Yeltsin has not signed them.

The international community imposed sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on late May 1992. The sanctions were suspended on November 22, a day after the initialling of the peace agreement for Bosnia in Dayton, Ohio, but Russia did not suspend the sanctions immediately.

Arrives in Paris,Comments on Accord

LD1412105695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1050 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Mikhail Kalmykov and Igor Shchegolev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] PARIS, December 14 (Itar-Tass) — "We have arrived in Paris with best feelings, to put a stop to the long-drawn-out war in the Balkans," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said on Thursday at Orly airport in Paris. He arrived for a peace conference on the Bosnian settlement.

The Balkan region is "too important, too memorable to all," the Russian Prime Minister told Itar-Tass. "I have a feeling that we participate to a good undertaking. It is necessary to cope with all the difficulties on the way of the peace process. For this purpose we shall put the signature to the final document with a sense of our responsibiliy. Europe is our common home, and a return to confrontation should not be allowed in any case."

From the airport Chernomyrdin flew by helicopter to Paris to take part in an official ceremony of the signing of the final document of the international peace conference on the Bosnian settlement. In the Elysee Palace, the Russian Prime Minister will register by his signature conclusion of the agreement on establishing peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and will make a brief statement. The Russian delegation includes Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev.

The document initialed in Dayton, the United States, will be signed by Presidents of Serbia and Croatia Slobodan Milocevic and Franjo Tudzman, as well as by

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Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic. Alongside Chernomyrdin, the signing will be witnessed by leaders of other powers in the international "Contact Group" on Bosnian settlement: French President Jacques Chirac, U.S. President Bill Clinton, British Prime Minister John Major and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The programme of Chernomyrdin's one-day stay in Paris envisages a conversation with French President Jacques Chirac. Diplomatic sources in Paris told Itar-Tass that there may be a brief meeting of the Russian Premier with U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Mladic: Russia Should Make Effort To Impose Peace

LD1312175895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1657 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Ivan Ivanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ZVORNIK, Serb republic December 13 (Itar- Tass) — Russia should make an effort to impose a just peace in Bosnia, Serb military commander General Ratko Mladic told Itar-Tass on Wednesday.

"Russia should make an effort at the Paris peace conference to have a just Bosnia peace treaty signed, and to have all problems solved justly, without detriment to the Serbs," Mladic said.

Russia and the international community should "hamper the implementation of the erroneous Dayton agreements stipulating that 170,000 Serbs in Sarajevo will be governed by those who were their bitter enemies in the war," according to Mladic.

There is still time to reconsider some of the Dayton provisions before the signing of a Bosnia and Herzegovina peace accord, he said.

"If these demands, vitally important to the Serbs, are satisfied, guarantees will be provided that war will not resume and conditions will be created for peace and mutual understanding in Bosnia and Herzegovina," the general stressed.

According to him, the Serb people in the former Yugoslavia should hold together, and the present state border between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb Republic should not exist.

Speaking about the war crime accusations brought against him by the Hague Tribunal, Mladic said "the Hague Tribunal is not a court of law and justice, it is a political court. I am not afraid of it because it was a matter of honour, duty, and obligation for me to defend my people which was attacked by an enemy and — with the U.N. approval — by the armed forces of the international community."

Asked whether the international forces in Bosnia could arrest him, Mladic said with an ironic smile, "Let them try. We shall see what will become of it."

France's Chirac Thanks Yeltsin on Pilots' Release

LD1312193295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1712 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (itar-tass) — French President Jacques Chirac has thanked Boris Yeltsin for his assistance in the release of two French pilots shot down over Bosnia.

The message sent to the Russian president says: "At the time when two French pilots who had been in captivity in Bosnia-Herzegovina since 30 August are finally free, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to you for resolute personal participation in the release of our two fellow-countrymen. The French will not forget your tireless efforts to assist in this happy outcome which would have been impossible without you."

"In this connection," the message says, "I would like to give due recognition to the decisive efforts which Russia is making under your leadership to restore peace in former Yugoslavia."

Pickering on U.S. Position on Japan Territories

LD1312215895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 95

[Report by correspondent A. Peslyak — from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] At his news conference today, Viktor Chernomyrdin levelled unprecedented criticism at the recent pronouncements by Thomas Pickering, U.S. ambassador to Russia, on the South Kurils problem. Having described this statement as exceeding all limits, the prime minister stressed that Russia and Japan will sort out the problem of the northern territories on their own and do not need any prompting from the U.S. ambassador.

[Peslyak] Speaking at the International University in Moscow, the U.S. ambassador recalled that the U.S. position has been known since the 1950's and has been conveyed publicly and privately to the Soviet and then the Russian leadership many times. In accordance with the Japanese-U.S. peace treaty of 1953, all the territories seized by Japan in the Pacific region starting from 1917 should be returned to their former owners. It so happened that the Russian Czarist government handed the four so-called northern territories to the imperial

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government in Tokyo following the 1855 treaty. In this light, our position which, I repeat, has been conveyed to your authorities more than once, seems to be clear and accessible, he said.

Commentary on Pickering's Kuril Islands Advice

MM1312182795 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by Mikhail Morozov: "Diplomat's Error?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thomas Pickering, the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, traveling across the hospitable Russian Far East, "quietly" advised us to share the territory with our brothers the Japanese. As he put it, we should hand over the "Northern territories" to Japan by "peaceful means." (As though the Americans have in mind some other way apart from the peaceful way). Obviously it is not the United States' business to go into delicate spheres of other states' relations. From the viewpoint of diplomatic ethics the ambassador's statement was unforgivable. If a Russian diplomat had blurted out something of the kind in Washington he would have been assured an early reunion with his relations at home. Pickering, by virtue of our readiness to learn from America, is most likely not threatened with something of that kind. Nonetheless the United States cannot fail to understand that it is treading on someone's "pet corns."

The explanation for such a bold action on the part of the Americans must be sought where there are interests of importance to the United States. Recently it has been impossible to describe U.S.-Japanese relations as mutual love. There are problems in trade and competition for influence in the Asian region. Meanwhile the lease on plots on the island of Okinawa on which U.S. military bases are situated is running out. The population of Okinawa has never been delighted by the U.S. presence. After all, the United States was occupying for its bases the land in such short supply in Japan without even the consent of its specific owners. For instance, there used to be a rice paddy but now it has become a runway for fighter aircraft. And in addition recently U.S. servicemen on Okinawa raped a Japanese schoolgirl. The local authorities quite rightly demanded that Tokyo should not extend the lease and should rid the population of a dangerous neighbor. Obviously Washington and Tokyo see a way out of the situation in back scratching: The Japanese premier will "pressurize" the Okinawa authorities and the U.S. administration will distract Japanese public attention with the problem of the "Northern territories."

A long time ago Okinawa did not belong to the Japanese state. The independent principality of Ryukyu was situated here. The Japanese annexed Okinawa by force.

If Tokyo is hoping after the "peaceful" transfer of the South Kuril islands to station U.S. military bases here then this option cannot in any case suit Russia.

Premier Hopes for Progress in Relations With Ukraine

LD1312150295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1306 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov, Artem Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 13 (Itar-Tass) — "Over the past three years the Russo-Ukrainian relations had not undergone any particular changes," said chairman of the Russian government Viktor Chernomyrdin at a news conference today. He stressed that "regrettably, there was no major advance in the relations between the two countries, in particular, in the field of the economics." Chernomyrdin believes that the main factor which might account for this is Ukraine's "rather cautious attitude to Russia's initiatives."

At the same time, the Prime Minister expressed the hope that in future, "there would be no problems in the relations between the two countries which will develop normal interstate relations." This can be seen from efficient progress made in the field of creating joint financial-industrial groups and companies in different branches of industry, the Prime Minister noted. Russia is fairly well acquainted with Ukraine's industrial and economic structures and "we shall develop cooperation with Ukrainian enterprises which will take us to a new level of mutual relations," Chernomyrdin said.

The Prime Minister noted a positive tendency in the development of cooperation between CIS member-states, saying that over 400 joint resolutions had been adopted in this field in recent years.

Air Force Chief Details SU-27 Fighters Search

LD1312230895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2056 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (Interfax) — The search for the three Russian SU-27 interceptor fighters which crashed in Vietnam Tuesday will continue Thursday amid difficult weather conditions, Russian Air Force Commander-in-Chief Col. Gen. Petr Deynekin told Interfax.

He said the Vietnamese side had provided a Mi-8 helicopter for the search.

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"The search will be also carried out by a Russian Il-76 transport plane, which was returning from an international air show in Malaysia together with the SU-27s. However, it will be possible only if the weather permits, because the search is hindered by low clouds. In particular, the hills are covered with clouds so far," said Deynekin.

He said that a total of six Russian military planes, including five SU-27s and one Il-76, took part in the LIMA-95 air show in Malaysia.

According to Deynekin, the flight from Malaysia to the Camh Ranh air base in Vietnam was normal. "The Il-76, which had good satellite communications system and navigation equipment, was leading and the five SU-27s were following," he said.

"When making landing maneuvers, the planes got caught up in difficult weather conditions. During the fourth U-turn the planes began to descend to the altitude of 600 meters, after which contact with three SU-27s was lost. The rest of the planes landed safely," said Deynekin.

He believes that the accident happened as the planes crashed into the mountains. There were a total of four members of the crew on board the crashed planes, as one of the planes had two crew members.

The crews of the SU-27s were members of the Russkiye Vityazi (Russian Knights), an elite pilot unit of the Russian Air Force.

Deynekin said that "a special commission of the Russian Defense Ministry is investigating the accident" and expressed confidence that the causes will be "minutely studied."

The Russian Defense Ministry is leasing the Camh Ranh air base from Vietnam.

The crash took place at 6:27 a.m. moscow time on December 12.

At the LIMA-95 aircraft and naval exhibition, the Russian state-owned Rosvooruzheniye company represented over 100 modern Russian armaments designed by almost 30 Russian defense industry enterprises.

Rosvooruzheniye company press office told Interfax that demonstration flights of Russian MiG-29 and SU-27 fighters as well as of Ka-50 "Black Shark" and Mi-26 helicopters and of wing-in-ground effect planes were organized during the air show.

Memorandum Signed With Greece on 'Basics' of Relations

LD1312162695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1454 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Yuriy Malinov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ATHENS, December 13 (Itar-Tass) — Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece Karolos Papoulias and visiting Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov today signed an intergovernmental memorandum concerning the legal basics of relations between the two countries.

Following bilateral talks and the signing the Greek Minister told journalists that the government of Greece had always regarded relations with Russia as a very important direction of its foreign political activity. He recalled that close and fruitful cooperation between the governments of the two countries facilitated progress of the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Greece and Russia will cooperate in practical implementation of the accords reached in Dayton, as well as in the post-crisis restoration of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said.

The Greek Minister noted that the bulk of his talks with Krylov was devoted to an exchange of views and ideas concerning the settlement of the situation in Cyprus.

"I welcome in particular the interest shown by the Russian side in the solution of that problem. Greece considers Russia to be an important factor capable of making a positive contribution to the settlement of the Cypriot issue," he said.

According to the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, unprecedented number of contacts were established between Russia and Greece over the past 12 to 18 months. It was especially important that they took place at critical moments in the development of the situation in Europe.

"If one takes a closer look at the progress of the Yugoslavian settlement, one can notice that progress was every time made following meetings of Russian and Greek officials," he said.

"The main thing is that we understand each other very well and that we want to do much for our countries and for Europe as a whole," Krylov said.

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Report on Results of Krylov's Talks in Cyprus

LD1312211795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0658 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Yerovchenkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nicosia, 13 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — The Republic of Cyprus welcomes Russia's close interest in the search for a solution to the island's problem through implementing the decisions of the international community. This is said in a joint announcement for the press released here today on the results of the 11-12 December visit to Nicosia by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov. He was received by President of Cyprus Glavkos Kliridhis and had talks with Foreign Minister Alexandros Mikhailidhis.

The sides noted with concern the lack of progress in settling the Cyprus problem and noted the coincidence of their views on the causes of this situation.

They confirmed that a settlement should come about by peaceful means and be based on the establishment of a Cypriot state with a single sovereignty and citizenship, consisting of two politically equal communities in a two-zone federation, as envisioned by the resolutions of the UN Security Council.

To remove the legitimate misgivings of the Greek and Turkish communities on questions of future security, the sides consider it expedient to examine the question of the demilitarization of Cyprus as a priority for a settlement.

The sides also welcomed the increasing involvement of the European Union in a settlement.

Baltic View of Russia 'Obstacle' to Normal Relations

WS1412101395 Tallinn BNS in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 13, BNS — The Baltic states' reluctance to accept Russia as a good neighbor is the principal obstacle to the normalization of the relations between Russia and the Baltic states, Valeriy Loshchinin, the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry 2nd European department, claimed Wednesday.

"The Baltic states, particularly Estonia and Latvia, demonstratively refuse to regard Russia as a good neighbor who wants to cooperate with them on an equal footing," said Loshchinin, speaking in Moscow at the conference "Russia and the Baltic States: Prospects of Cooperation." If the Russian people is regarded disdainfully as some sort of Homo sovieticus, this will not promote mutual understanding, the diplomat said.

Lushchinin, whose department is in charge of relations between Moscow and the Baltic states, said the situation of Russians in Latvia and Estonia constitutes the chief problem. "Estonia and Latvia deprived masses of people of citizenship, which by all international norms is to be considered as a violation of human rights," he claimed.

Meanwhile, the diplomat admitted that from a purely legal point of view the citizenship laws of those states are in compliance with international norms. But, those laws must not be applied to people who have long been living in Estonia and Latvia and consider themselves citizens of those states, he said.

The Russian diplomat criticized the Baltic states' bid for membership of the NATO, which he said will further complicate their relations with Moscow. "Seeking to enter the NATO against all dictates of cold reason will not strengthen the security or sovereignty of those states," he maintained.

Loshchinin urged the Baltic states to cooperation with Russia, emphasizing that Moscow's strategic goal is to normalize relations with the Baltics in all spheres as quickly as possible.

The conference in Moscow was arranged by the institute for topical international problems of the Russian Foreign Ministry Academy of Diplomacy. Representatives from the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian embassies had been invited to attend the meeting.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Appeals to Chechens on Eve of Elections

MM1412112395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 1

[Undated "Appeal by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the People of the Chechen Republic": "I Believe in the Triumph of the Mountain People's Wisdom"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Siylakh tsokhchiy! Bezhariy! [meaning unknown; words presumably in Chechen language]

Esteemed elders and spiritual authorities of the Chechen people!

Esteemed inhabitants of the Chechen Republic!

I appeal to you and to all who value peace in the Chechen land, I appeal on the eve of an event that could and should play an important role in restoring Chechnya to a peaceful life. On 17 December you will have elections. I believe that you will elect a worthy person to the post of head of the Republic. Difficult tasks will rest on his shoulders, the tasks of restoring Chechnya and — particularly important — ending the armed violence on its long- suffering soil. The most important conditions for achieving this are competence, experience, the people's trust, and the ability to create an environment of harmonious, well-oiled work.

You know that the agreement on the package of military questions was signed with a view to the speediest settlement of the crisis. However, its implementation was rendered difficult by the fierce resistance of those who support the continuation of the war. Terrorist acts continue against civilians, construction workers, and other specialists. The latest example of this was the 4 December explosion in the center of Groznyy. It was targeted against the civilian population, against women, children, and old people. Those who gave the order for this act and actually carried it out have nothing in common with the Chechen people, nor with Islam, nor with the age-old traditions of the mountain people.

In no way do I identify the gunmen who have arrogated to themselves the right to speak in the people's name, and who wipe out peaceful people with cynical cold-bloodedness and cruelty, with the proud and industrious Chechen people. I will do everything possible to protect the people against lawlessness and violence, to defend the fragile green shoots of peace. And I firmly declare my resolve to mercilessly quash the actions of those for whom war has become the meaning of life and a source of gain.

I assure you that the work of restoring the economy and the social sphere, health care and culture, science and education will not only continue, but will be under my own special supervision. A Federal Targeted Program for the Regeneration and Development of the Chechen Republic in 1996 has been approved. An Agreement on the Basic Principles of Mutual Relations between the organs of power of the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic has been concluded. It will operate until the signing of a corresponding treaty. Everything will be done to restore the damaged cultural and economic ties with regions of Russia and with other states.

In order to restore tranquillity, stability, and order to Chechnya, what is needed is a legitimately elected authority and joint actions by all society's healthy forces with a commitment to peace.

The consistent striving of the present leadership of the Chechen Republic to rally the people and unite their efforts for constructive purposes deserves support. I have approved the initiative of the head of the Chechen Republic, and as an act of good will an edict has been signed on not taking criminal proceedings against persons voluntarily surrendering their arms. I appeal once again to the esteemed elders and spiritual authorities of the Chechen people and to all inhabitants of the Chechen Republic. We face difficult tasks, but we must do everything to leave to our children not grievances and hatred, not strife and distrust, but mutual respect and accord.

I believe in the triumph of reason and the mountain people's traditional wisdom, I believe that you will conduct the elections in a fitting manner. The people must elect to the organs of power those whom they can trust with their destiny, those who regard the future of the Chechen Republic as the supreme goal. I believe that the Chechen people will come through today's trials, and happiness and prosperity will prevail in the land of Chechnya.

May God grant that you find accord and mutual understanding!

Dala bart boyla vay! [meaning unknown]

Debate Held on Assistance to Chechnya

LD1412122695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Government held a sitting today under the chairmanship of Oleg Soskovets, the first deputy prime minister. The government discussed the restoration of Chechnya's economy and social infrastructure. Our correspondent Regina Lukashenko reports:

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[Lukashenko] Oleg Soskovets and Yefim Basin, construction minister and Soskovets' deputy within the commission, spoke about successes. Assistance has been given to the population. Essential supplies for the population have been ensured, including 300 litres of water per capita per 24 hours and food. Epidemics and hunger were averted. More than 2 million square meters of housing have been rebuilt.

Industrial enterprises, including the Krasnyy Molot works [engineering works in Groznyy, catering for the needs of the oil industry] will be made operational in 1996. Health and educational facilities will also be handed over for use in 1996. Sixty eight hospitals and 445 schools are already operational. Pensioners have received 142 billion rubles worth of subsidies. It was specifically stressed that 100,000 tonnes of Chechen oil were exported in 1995.

Federal ministers were next to speak. Transport Minister Gennadiy Fadeyev [name and title as heard] said construction and railway workers who arrived in Chechnya to work are sustained in their toil by patriotism alone, as they have received no money since September. Construction programs in Chechnya are being implemented to the detriment of the national Russian programs, such as housing for servicemen or Chernobyl victims, the financing of which has been cut by between 10 and 40 percent.

Another trouble is that all railway facilities on the approach to Gudermes come under fire. Each passenger train is preceded by a similar one with anti-aircraft weapons, and each time it is blown up. The curfew lasts 15 hours in every 24 hours, and this is the reason why 2,000 wagons with national economy cargo are standing idle near Chechnya.

Communications Minister Vladimir Bulgak said all radio-relay communications have been mined. Moreover, communications workers who are working in Chechnya are waiting for their wages to be paid.

Yuriy Shafranik, fuel and power engineering minister, made a similarly gloomy speech. However, the Chechen restoration program has been endorsed by the Russian president. It is planned to spend 30,000 billion rubles in all on the program in 1996. This figure was mentioned by Andrey Shapovalyants, deputy economy minister. Direct federal budget subsidy will amount to 14.7 trillion rubles.

Cabinet Approves Restoration Program

LD1412115195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1128 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Oleg Velichko and Artyom Protasenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 14 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Cabinet of Ministers today approved on the whole a federal programme of the restoration of the economy and the social sphere in the Chechen republic.

On December 6, the President of Russia signed a decree approving the concept of a federal programme and instructing the government to complete the restoration of the communal services, schools and healthcare establishments in the Chechen republic and pay compensation to residents and those who had to flee the republic.

In introducing the draft federal programme to the government today, Deputy Economics Minister Andrey Shapovalyants noted that the document prepared by the ministry envisages a spending of 28 trillion roubles, of which 14.7 trillion roubles will be allocated from the federal budget in 1996. An additional seven trillion roubles are to be mobilised by the government in the course of a execution of the federal budget.

Just as this year, commercial banks appointed by the government will be attracted to the funding of the Chechen restoration projects. The country's budget for 1996 has already provided for specific outlays to finance restoration efforts in Chechnya.

Shapovalyants said the payment of compensation to the population and the creation of new jobs were among the priorities for 1996, along with the restoration of communal services, healthcare and education establishments. He said that more than 200,000 people had already returned to the republic, according to expert estimates.

First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets who chairs today's meeting of the Cabinet said the builders would be able to complete three million square meters of housing next year. That would mean that the destroyed housing in the Chechen republic would be fully replaced with new facilities.

The Cabinet was addressed by Oleg Lobov, the Russian President's envoy to Chechnya. Lobov said the programme should be corrected on a quarterly basis depending on the changing situation in Chechnya. He also called for the drafting of individual subprogrammes for the restoration of the energy and agro-industrial complexes and the transportation system.

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Accord Signed on RF-Chechnya Relations

MM1412122295 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 4

["Agreement on the Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic," signed by V.S. Chernomyrdin for the Russian Federation Government; D.G. Zavgayev for the Government of the Chechen Republic; and O.I. Lobov, plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation president in the Chechen Republic, dated Moscow, 8 December 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] The plenipotentiary representatives of the organs of state power of the Russian Federation (RF) and the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic:

— guaranteeing observance of the basic human and civil rights and freedoms irrespective of ethnic affiliation, religion, domicile, or other distinctions;

— proceeding from the generally recognized right of peoples to self-determination and the principles of equal rights, voluntarity, and the free expression of will, and guaranteeing their observance;

— expressing the peoples' desire for the restoration of mutual understanding and trust and the preservation and development of their friendly ties;

— guaranteeing the preservation of territorial integrity and unity of the economic area;

— renouncing the use of force or the threat of force in resolving contentious issues;

— guided by the policy of ensuring civil peace, interethnic accord, and the peoples' security;

— proceeding from the right of the Chechen Republic to participate in international and foreign economic relations,

have agreed to the following:

— that the need for the establishment of a special status for the Chechen Republic within the Russian Federation and for the Chechen Republic to adopt a Constitution and legislation be recognized.

The organs of state power of the Chechen Republic autonomously exercise state powers, including:

— establishing the system of organs of state power of the Chechen Republic and the procedure for their organization and activity;

— forming the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic;

— forming the republic budget and setting and exacting republican taxes;

— resolving questions of the possession, use, and disposal of natural resources and of state enterprises, organizations, and other movable and immovable state property located on the territory of the Chechen Republic, with the exception of facilities under federal ownership;

— resolving questions relating to the legal profession and notaries, family matters, housing matters, and labor relations;

— determining the specific characteristics of the organization of education in the light of the ethnic and historical traditions of the peoples inhabiting the territory of the Chechen Republic;

— establishing and maintaining relations with other Russian Federation components and concluding treaties and agreements with them;

— exercising international and foreign economic relations and participating in the activity of the corresponding international organizations.

The organs of state power of the Russian Federation and the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic are jointly responsible for:

— the defense of human and civil rights and freedoms and the rights of ethnic minorities;

— the defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation;

— the coordination of the international and foreign economic relations of the Chechen Republic;

— the formation of special-purpose funds for the financing of joint programs and the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters and catastrophes;

— the organization of mobilizational preparation of the national economy;

— the coordination of the management of shared facilities in power engineering, railroad, pipeline, and air transportation, communications, and information systems;

— the implementation of a common policy in the sphere of employment, migration processes, and social protection and on questions of health care, education, science, culture, fitness and sports, and the training of national cadres;

— the coordination of activity in combating crime and ensuring public safety.

The Russian Federation Government:

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— will continue to allocate financial and material and technical resources to the Government of the Chechen Republic for the payment of damage compensation to the republic's population and for the restoration of housing, the economy, and facilities in the social sphere;

— will approve a special program for the development of the Chechen Republic incorporating measures for the accelerated development of its mountain regions and the creation of the necessary jobs to ensure employment of the working-age population;

— will establish the necessary customs and tax concessions;

— will give assistance to the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic in the restoration of museums, architectural monuments, and higher and secondary educational establishments and in the training of natural cadres at scientific and educational establishments in the Russian Federation;

— create the necessary conditions for and ensure the opening of regular international air services from the city of Groznyy.

The Russian Federation Government and the Government of the Chechen Republic will adopt measures to ensure the conditions for the return of refugees and the provision of facilities for them and the creation of centers for the medical rehabilitation of the population of the Chechen Republic who have suffered as a result of hostilities, and will also ensure the establishment of a special procedure for the performance of alternative civilian service on the territory of the Chechen Republic and a special procedure for the performance of military service, including service in military construction detachments set up to restore the republic's economy and social sphere.

The demarcation of powers between the federal organs of executive power and the organs of executive power of the Chechen Republic on matters under joint jurisdiction may be effected by separate treaties and agreements.

The command of the joint armed forces fulfilling tasks in disarming the illegal armed formations on the territory of the Chechen Republic coordinates its activity with the government of the Chechen Republic.

Decisions of the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic adopted within the limits of their competence are binding for implementation on the territory of the Chechen Republic.

The organs of state power of the Russian Federation and the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic pledge to seek to expand the zone of peace on the territory of the Chechen Republic.

The organs of state power of the Russian Federation and the organs of state power of the Chechen Republic have plenipotentiary missions in Groznyy and Moscow respectively.

The Chechen Republic may have its own missions in other states with a view to developing cultural, trade, and economic ties.

The present Agreement enters into force from the moment of its signing and remains in effect until the conclusion of a Treaty on the Demarcation of Powers Between the Organs of State Power of the Russian Federation and the Organs of State Power of the Chechen Republic.

[dated] Moscow, 8 December 1995
[signed] For the Russian Federation Government:
V.S. Chernomyrdin.
For the Government of the Chechen Republic:
D.G. Zavgayev.
Plenipotentiary Representative of the Russian Federation President in the Chechen Republic:
O.I. Lobov.

Yeltsin To Vote From Spa; Make TV Address 15 Dec

LD1412133895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1317 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 14 (ITAR-TASS) — President Boris Yeltsin, who is recuperating from a heart condition in the "Barvikha" spa near Moscow, will not be in the Kremlin by December 17 parliamentary elections and will cast his ballot in the sanatorium, his spokesman told Tass on Thursday.

Two days before elections Yeltsin is to make a televised address to the nation, Sergey Medvedev added.

"The head of state will vote at the polling station No 1759 in the central building of the sanatorium," Medvedev said adding that similar polling stations will be opened in all hospitals and sanatoriums across Russia.

The spokesman said Yeltsin wants journalists to be present as he casts his ballot.

On December 15, which is the last day for election campaigning, "Boris Yeltsin will make a televised address to the citizens of Russia", Medvedev said.

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Premier Receives No Guarantees From Yeltsin on Future

LD1312133695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1104 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has given no guarantees to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin that he would continue to head the government after the elections to the State Duma. At a news conference today Chernomyrdin said: "I have received no guarantees. I have not asked and have not been interested in any such questions. The president is fully responsible for deciding who is to head the government. At the moment we are working together."

Chernomyrdin Holds News Conference

LD1312220095 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1612 GMT 13 Dec 95

[Report by unidentified correspondent on news conference given by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in Moscow on 13 December]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Viktor Chernomyrdin has marked the third anniversary of his prime ministership with a big news conference. Stressing at the very beginning that he was speaking only in his capacity as chairman of government today, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that, just a few days before the parliamentary elections, he did not want to use the rostrum for election canvassing.

[begin Chernomyrdin recording] We have met today to hold an honest discussion about the state of the Russian economy and prospects for its development. First of all, I would like to say from the start that I am not inclined to embellish anything: It is not part of our rules. On the contrary, I know more than others about the difficult situation we are currently in, about many most acute problems besieging us from all sides, and about how difficult the people's life is at present.

Three years ago we took over from our predecessors a very difficult legacy that was far from being indisputable, to put it mildly. Many people wanted to make a U-turn; some, if not many, were expecting that, when Chernomyrdin came to power, when he became prime minister, he would start by making an U-turn. That did not happen. And that was not supposed to happen. Those who were expecting that, have never had their expectations come true.

It was extremely important for us to work out a realistic strategy of market transformations and to carry it out consistently. We have been doing this and we continue doing this now. I will not hide from you: Yes, there have been mistakes and there have been some dramatic moments. It is true, a lot could have been done differently and perhaps less painfully. But let us proceed from what we have got now, what we have in our life now, and what is changing it for the better.

A secret report by the former USSR Central Statistics Directorate for 1991 has recently caught my eye. I was amazed by one figure: An average time spent in queues to buy meat or sausages was more than four hours in the Russian Federation. It sounds absurd now, but this was taking place, it was a reality of our life. And now we are already forgetting how we used to live until very recently, four or five years ago. It is not bad perhaps: We are quickly becoming used to better things and this is what is needed, this is what we are striving for. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The prime minister said he would not want to look super-optimistic, but during the three years of its work the present Cabinet of Ministers had achieved a lot. Viktor Chernomyrdin mentioned the successes in the financial sphere among the government's achievements: The fall of inflation, the strengthening of the ruble, the development of the banking system and, what is particularly important, the adoption of the budget.

[begin Chernomyrdin recording] I am not used to talking about successes. And, honestly, there are not very many of them. But the main thing that I cannot not mention here is the fact that we have moved the country away from an abyss, we have prevented it from sinking into the deepest crisis. Bearing in mind all the circumstances, we still have succeeded in raising the economy to the parameters we set ourselves. I think this is the most important of our achievements; the most important of our successes is the fact that the economy is alive, that the economy is operating, and that today, at the end of 1995, we can already talk about some results, some normal results, the results that make it possible for us to resolve certain difficult problems already this year. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Viktor Chernomyrdin said the social issues are among the immediate and the most difficult. Viktor Chernomyrdin thinks that 1996 should become a crucial year in this sense since for the first time the state has the financial opportunities to resolve the most acute and immediate problems relating to pensioners, employees of budget-financed organizations, and depositors. To a question by the "Vesti" correspondent how realistic it was that the government will implement its promises, a confident reply followed:

[begin Chernomyrdin recording] Thank you for your question. We will fulfill all the promises we have

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given, namely all of them. We promised, no matter how difficult it will be for us, to improve the situation with the payment of pensions and we are paying them. We promised that the federal bodies, the federal budget will repay the budget-financed organizations in the regions, and we have kept our word, we are keeping it, and will continue to keep it. We promised to sort out the depositors' situation when we have an opportunity, and we will do this. We are even thinking of doing more. And the miners — thank you for reminding me — we promised to fulfill what is allocated in the budget for this year, I am only talking of the budget parameters that we are using as a guideline — and with the miners [sentence as heard]. I can even say today — and my colleagues here will correct me if I am wrong — we are keeping even more of our promises than were earmarked in the budget. But we could not do more. We could not do more, but we did not promise more. This is perhaps the difference between us and the others. This is perhaps the thing that is depressing us most, I mean the government, above all. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Although the news conference was intended to take stock of economic matters, it proved impossible to avoid acute international issues and election matters:

[begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What is your attitude to the statement made on Sakhalin by U.S. Ambassador [Thomas] Pickering, that the South Kurils chain belongs to Japan and must be returned to it?

[Chernomyrdin] I've never heard of such a thing, that an ambassador of a foreign country should perform such a role. The Kuril question, the question of Kuril's problems, is a question for Russia and Japan, and we will sort it out for ourselves, without prompting. This is not the ambassador's business.

[Unidentified correspondent] What will President Yeltsin do if the Communists in the new Duma do eventually manage to secure the abrogation of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha treaties and, effectively, bring about the nationalization of the things that you have already privatized?

[Chernomyrdin] They will not succeed. This will not happen. The Communists will capture votes — and quite a few, no doubt. However, there is one thing that is regrettable, the fact that the democrats, or Russia's democratic organizations, Russia's young democracy, have spread themselves so thinly, that the leaders of the democratic organizations were not intelligent enough — I did not want to use that word — to gather round a single table and agree to put forward a united [front], to unite, so that they are comprehensible to all our people.

[Unidentified correspondent] Will you be a candidate at the upcoming presidential elections?

[Chernomyrdin] First we've got to get through the State Duma elections. Furthermore, Boris Nikolayevich himself has not made any statement yet. So, there's no problem. We have to make absolutely sure that these elections go off all right. The government, and above all the chairman of the government, are doing their utmost to realize all the plans we are working on. That's our main objective at the moment — and that's what we are doing, and at the moment we have no other issues in mind.

[Unidentified correspondent] Please will you identify the things that you were bequeathed by your own parents that you would like to pass on to your children and grandchildren?

[Chernomyrdin] Unfortunately I have to say that my parents — the circumstances in which I grew up meant that they did not even know what will, in the direct sense of the word, meant. But in the figurative sense — we are a big family, there are another five of us. They gave us a great deal. They gave us, their children, everything — above all honesty, conscientiousness, respect for other people in the country. I would very much like — my wife and I will do our utmost to pass these same things on to our own children. [end recording] [video shows Chernomyrdin flanked by two aides at the news conference. At one point the camera shows Yuriy Yarov, Anatoliy Chubays, Oleg Soskovets, Yuriy Shafranik, Andrey Kozyrev, Aleksandr Zaveryukha, and other government officials among the audience]

Konstantin Borovoy Proposed as Presidential Candidate

LD1312173595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (INTERFAX) — The Party of Economic Freedom's press service told INTERFAX today that 219 people have signed a protocol proposing the party's leader Konstantin Borovoy as a candidate for the Russian presidency.

The decision was made by residents of Moscow's Northwestern district at a meeting Monday.

Borovoy himself said he would announce his decision on whether or not to run for the presidential elections after the elections to the State Duma.

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General Procuracy Quashes Proceedings Against Rutskoy

LD1312232295 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian General Procuracy has quashed criminal proceedings against Former Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, as no crime has been committed.

INTERFAX recalls that in August 1993, members of the Russian Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission, Andrey Makarov and Aleksey Ilyushenko, said Rutskoy had something to do with an account in a Swiss bank. They lodged the relevant documents with the Moscow procuracy, which soon stopped its investigations, as no crime had been committed.

The general procuracy subsequently decided to have the case investigated again.

Official Cited on New Passport Regulations

LD1312214095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2028 GMT 13 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (INTERFAX) — Russian citizens with average foreign passports can visit 30 European, Asian and Latin American states, and the island of Aruba (which is part of the Netherlands Antilles — IF note) without visas.

Deputy head of the Business Trip Division of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Consular Service Vagif Garayev told INTERFAX, these include Cyprus (for up to 90 days trips), Colombia (up to 180 days), Malaysia (up to seven days), the Maldives (up to 30 days), Romania (no limits), Sri Lanka (up to 30 days), Ecuador (up to three months) and the Dominican Republic (for tourists).

No visa is now necessary for trips to all former Soviet republics with the exception of the Baltics, said the diplomat.

As for the Aruba island, the term of its visaless visits is limited to 14 days, said the official.

Malta is also wishing to sign a visa agreement on terms similar to those of the Moscow-Cyprus agreement.

Russians will need nothing but an invitation to visit Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Macedonia, Poland, Slovenia, Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Russia has recently reached an agreement with the Czech Republic and Slovakia to enable Russian citizens to visit the two countries with average foreign passports for up to 30 days without any invitations.

But Russian citizens will have to declare the sum of foreign currency they carry so that the border guards of Slovakia and the Czech Republic make sure they have enough money for staying in those states, he said.

From now on Russian citizens can enter the Czech Republic and Slovakia without visas and invitations from any part of the globe. The previous agreements allowed Soviet and Russian citizens to enter the two countries only from Russia, said Garayev.

The new rules are so far valid only for the Czech Republic and Slovakia. "If a Russian citizen is staying abroad, he will have to register a visa in order to enter an East European country with a red-colored passport," he noted.

Russia wants to make similar agreements with all other countries of Eastern Europe.

It is holding negotiations on a simplified entrance procedure with Poland and some other East European states.

There is also a list of countries which issue entrance visas to Russian citizens at the arrival point. These are Bahrain (for tourists), Egypt (for tourists), Qatar (tourists), Cuba (tourists), Kenya (tourists), Lebanon (tourists), Mauritius (for 14 days with a return ticket), Namibia (tourists), Nepal (tourists), the UAE (tourists) and Turkey.

In the words of the diplomat, this group also included Syria and Pakistan. But about a month ago they reviewed the entrance regime and now Russian tourists have to ask for visas at their Moscow embassies.

Russia and Mongolia introduced visa relations in summer 1995. Similar agreements are in effect with other Asian socialist states — China, Laos and North Korea.

Commenting on visa problems, the diplomat said they are related to the Russian cancelled practices of AB service and service stamps in passports with the name of a country.

The stamps were used for entrance and exit of Soviet and Russian citizens to former socialist states.

After the adoption of a law on entrance and exit in 1993 Russia issued new passports without these stamps. Thus, Russian citizens had problems with the entrance of East European states in 1993 and 1994, when their border services demanded the stamps.

After negotiations with consular services of East European states the problem was eliminated. Bearing in mind some former Soviet republics kept the stamp practices, border guards of Belarus and Ukraine demand them from Russian citizens.

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This happens because the coverage of foreign passports in Russia and the majority of other former Soviet republics have the same symbols of the former Soviet Union and it is sometimes difficult to say who issued the passport. There were cases of mobile offices on Belarusian-Polish border and Ukraine which put fake service stamps in Russian foreign passports. Russia has called attention of its Belarusian and Ukrainian colleagues to inadmissibility of such practices.

Naturally, it will take time to settle the problem, said the diplomat. He hopes that new Russian foreign passports with Russian symbols will help its settlement.

Military & Space Issues

Missile Troops Commander Holds News Conference

LD1312233095 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Dec 95

[Video report by correspondent V. Ukhorskaya, with recorded comments by Igor Sergeyev, command in chief of the Russian missile troops; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ukhorskaya] In Odintsovo, near Moscow, today, Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of the missile troops, met journalists to speak about the presidential edict on declaring 17 December as Missile Troops Day. The edict was signed 36 years after Nikita Khrushchev had signed a top secret decision by the Council of Ministers on setting up missile troops on the 17 December 1959. Since then the strategic missile troops, which luckily have never demonstrated its might in a theater of military operations, have been the main deterrent force in complex foreign political situations.

[Sergeyev] Russia is not threatening anyone and does not regard any state as an enemy. As of the 30 May 1994, the missile troops have been on alert duty at zero flight assignment [nulevoye poletnoye zadaniye].

[Ukhorskaya] Sergeyev told journalists that the state-of-the art — after all, despite the strategic arms limitation, the arms that are available are being continuously upgraded — and super powerful weapons are in reliable hands and mistakes are practically ruled out. The topical story about a computer virus that can trigger the notorious red button is not applicable to the Russian structure of strategic missile troops. Those who developed it 40 years ago had foreseen such a contingency. The current decay in every sphere has not touched the missile silos, and the missile troops have always been top priority in terms of financing.

Strategic Rocket Troops Count 879 Launchers

LD1312174095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (INTERFAX) — Commander of the Russian Strategic Rocket Troops, Col. Gen. Igor Sergeyev told INTERFAX today that the strategic rocket troops had 879 launchers.

He said 18,000 servicemen of the rocket troops were on duty every day.

Russia is marking the 36th anniversary of the strategic rocket troops today.

"After the collapse of the USSR, only four CIS countries — Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine — became the carriers of the nuclear shield," Sergeyev said. Ukraine currently has 96 rocket launchers, he added, while Belarus and Kazakhstan have 18 launchers each country.

"After the recent visit of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to Minsk, Russia and Belarus confirmed their agreement on withdrawing from Belarus to Russia the rest of regiments of the strategic rocket troops," Sergeyev said.

"Two thirds of nuclear ammunition has already been pulled out from Ukraine. Destruction of nuclear weapons is underway in Kazakhstan," Sergeyev said.

"Under international agreements, Russia now has only silos and Topol-type mobile rocket launchers, which are on military duty under the zero option since May 1994," Sergeyev said.

'Proton-K' Carrier Rocket Launched From Baykonur

LD1412102295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0953 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Anna Bakina and Viktor Gritsenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 14 (ITAR-TASS) — A heavy "Proton-K" carrier-rocket with a "DM-2" booster was launched today by the Russian Military-Space Forces from the Baykonur cosmodrome at 9 hours 10 minutes Moscow time, ITAR-TASS was told by officials of the Press Centre of the Military-Space Forces.

The rocket will place into orbit, at an altitude of 19,100 kilometres, the last three "Uragan" sputniks of the global GLONASS navigation system. The launching was directed by Vladimir Ivanov, Commander of the Russian Military-Space Forces. The orbiting of these space apparatuses completes the formation of the space

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GLONASS system. Now it will include 24 spuntiks, which are needed to ensure the system's effective work. The purpose of the GLONASS is to provide its users with information on their whereabouts in any spot of the globe with an exactitude of up to 100 metres.

The system was developed by the Applied Mechanics Scientific Production Society in Zheleznogorsk. The space apparatuses were constructed jointly by this society and the "Polyot" Aerospace Association in Omsk, where they were produced. The "Proton-K" carrier-rocket was produced by the Khrunichev Science and Production Centre. This is the seventh such rocket launched this year.

The GLONASS system has been servicing the Russian armed forces since 1993. The Russian government decided last March to place the system at the disposal of civilian clients (ships and aircraft). The International Civil Aviation Organisation is also evincing great interest in this system. It plans to use it together with the similar American "Navstar" system. However, specialists note that the Russian system is much more exact.

Federal Assembly

Legislative, Regulatory Documents 3-9 Dec

96P50025

[FBIS Media Note] The following is a listing of Russian legislation recently published in the press of the Russian Federation compiled by FBIS. Numbers within parens indicate approximate wordage. Entries followed by the notation "Text" have been translated into English and are available in FBIS publications.

SECTION I: ECONOMIC LEGISLATION (EXPORT-IMPORT, BANKING, PRIVATIZATION, AUCTIONS, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT)

Government 17 October Decree No. 1022 'On Signing Of Agreement Between Russian Federation And Interstate Aviation Committee On Conditions Governing Latter's Stay On Russian Federation Territory.' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 3) (450) (Text)

Government 2 November Directive No. 1524 On Seller's Liability For Selling Dutiable Goods Without Proper Excise Stamps. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 6) (100)

Government 5 November Decree No. 1106 On Development Of Yakutia, Plus Commentary By Yakutia Development Program Coordinator Sergey Tatarinov. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 95 p 4) (1000/900)

Federal Law No. 175 Of 23 November 'On Procedure For Resolution Of Collective Labor Disputes,' Plus Commentary By Deputy Labor Minister Kalashnikov. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 4) (5500/500)

Federal Law No. 176 Of 24 November 'On Introduction Of Amendments And Additions To Russian Federation Law "On Collective Contracts And Agreements."' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 5) (4400)

Federal Law No. 182 Of 24 November 'On Introduction Of Amendments And Additions To Russian Federation Code Of Labor Laws.' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 6) (1500)

Federal Law No. 184 Of 24 November Amending Law On State Subsidies For Citizens With Children. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 6) (150)

Government 27 November Decree No. 1170 On Methods, Deadlines For Drawing Up Medium-Term Socioeconomic Development Program. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 95 p 4) (1250)

Yeltsin 27 November Edict No. 1186 On Running Federally Owned 'Siberian Oil Company' And On Dealings In Its Shares. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 5) (150)

Yeltsin 28 November Edict No. 1191 Agreeing To 'Active Participation' By Central Bank Chairman Dubinin And Academy Of Sciences President Osipov In Government Activities. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 5) (150)

Yeltsin 30 November Edict No. 1199 On Customs Breaks. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 5) (200) (Text)

Yeltsin-Signed 30 November Edict No. 1204 On Priority Measures To Support Commodity Exporters. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 3) (400) (Text)

Yeltsin-Signed 30 November Federal Law No. 188 On Amendments And Additions To Certain Laws On Taxes (Provides Some Concessions For Newspapers And Magazines, Other Than Advertising Publications And Those With Sexual Content). (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 5) (800)

Federal Law No. 190 Of 30 November On Financial-Industrial Groups. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 3) (5500)

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Chernomyrdin 4 December Decree No. 1185 On Duty On Low-Alcohol Carbonated Drinks (Sets Duty Of 45 Percent On Drinks With Alcohol Content Of Up To 9 Percent By Volume). (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 7) (250) Chernomyrdin-Signed 5 December Government Decree On Moving Nonworking Day From Saturday 9 December To Monday 11 December In Connection With 12 December Constitution Day Holiday. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 95 p 1) (100)

Yeltsin 6 December Edict No. 1216 On Restoring Chechnya Economy. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 95 p 4) (700) (Text)

SECTION II: POLITICAL (INTERNATIONAL AND CIS AFFAIRS, ELECTIONS, CRIME, POLLUTION)

Text Of RF Law 'On Continental Shelf Of Russian Federation,' Adopted By State Duma 25 October. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 95 pp 4-7 (17000)

RF Government 5 November Decree No. 1094 On Structure Of Central Apparatus Of Organs Of Executive Power. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 3) (500)

Government 9 November Directive No. 1564 On Talks With Azerbaijan On Transit Of Azerbaijani Oil Across Russian Territory. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 5) (200) (Text)

Yeltsin 16 November Directive No. 510 'On Questions Concerning The "Russian Sociopolitical Center" Fund,' Plus Commentary By Fund President Professor Salmin. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 3) (200/450)

Federal Law No. 183 of 24 November Ratifying Social Security Treaty With Spain. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 6) (100)

Government 25 November Decree No. 1147 On Additional Benefits For Workers Permanently Resident In Chechnya And Engaged In Construction And Restoration Work. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 6) (200)

Federal Law No. 189 of 30 November Amending Civil Code. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 95 pp 5-6) (7200)

Federal Law No. 191 'On State Support For Mass Media And Book Publishing In Russian Federation.' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Dec 95 p 3) (2750) (Text)

Federal Law No. 192 of 5 December On Procedure For Forming Federation Council. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 95 p 2) (200)

Yeltsin 6 December Directive No. 532 Announcing 8-9 December Moscow Seminar On Regional, Nationalities Policy. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Dec 95 p 6) (200)

SECTION III: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Yeltsin 5 December Edict No. 1214 Electing Aleksandr Tsaregorodtsev Minister Of Health. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Dec 95 p 2) (50)

Defense Committee Chief Cited on Military Budget Gaps

MM1312131195 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Dec 95 p 3

[Interview with Andrey Generalov, member of the Russian State Duma Defense Committee, by Viktor Anechkin; date and place not given: "Additional Money for Defense Can Be Found Right Now, Andrey Generalov, Member of the State Duma Defense Committee, Believes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma has adopted the state budget for 1996. It does not solve very many of the Army's problems. The question of how to increase the defense budget and how to "plug" at least some of the gaps that have appeared in it invariably arises. Among the people's elected representatives who are concerned about the funding of the Armed Forces and the defense industry there is a deputy with a military name — Generalov. The floor is his.

[Generalov] In actual fact our state is not so very poor. Just take expenditure on Chechnya — multibillion [ruble] sums are going there which, one gets the impression, are not being monitored. Meanwhile Chechnya is pretty well cleaning out the Defense Ministry's coffers.

[Anechkin] Andrey Ivanovich, the 1996 budget threatens to finally undermine the Army's combat readiness but the government is throwing up its hands in helplessness and complaining about financial difficulties. Where exactly are these "hidden reserves" that could top up the budget?

[Generalov] In our view, and I am speaking on behalf of Defense Committee deputies, there are several highly effective methods. First, we must stop the privatization of defense complex enterprises and bring the practice of holding investment tenders into line

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with the state's interests. Because what is happening is that Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property] is in practice selling off the most powerful production facilities into private hands for a song. For example, people wanted to put the "Sukhoy Experimental Design Bureau" into private hands for only $10 million, and this is at a time when, even according to Western specialists' estimates, profits from the sale of this design bureau's aircraft are reaching $60 million a year. Not to mention the fact that we could be losing irreversibly the pride of domestic aircraft building. A similar situation is developing at other "investment" facilities — "Norilsk Nickel," "Vnukovo Airlines," etc.

[Anechkin] That is the first option, it will not bring immediate profits to the state, only in the long term. What is the second?

[Generalov] It is well known that some state money has been placed in commercial banks. But far from all of them are paying the state treasury interest for the use of budget money. Yet just one day of putting money "to work for you" brings a colossal profit! So we are proposing that the so-called "authorized banks," which have budget funds in their accounts and which are as far as is known using them for their own interests, should pay the state interest. Believe me, this money would be quite sufficient to plug the "holes" not just in the Army.

[Anechkin] Andrey Ivanovich, what in your view can the Armed Forces expect next year from the funding viewpoint? Because you yourself know that currently there is not enough money even to pay servicemen their wages.

[Generalov] Our Defense Committee has prepared a draft edict incorporating many items of military expenditure, including on purchasing arms and equipment. I think that it will be implemented by the government and Army funding will substantially improve in 1996. At the end of the day we are talking about our Armed Forces, in whose combat readiness all political parties in the country are interested.

Regional Affairs

Irkutsk Regional Lawmakers Extend Term of Office

LD1412080695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0753 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Vladimir Khodij]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] IRKUTSK December 14 (Itar-Tass) — Legislators in the Russian Irkutsk region in eastern Siberia ruled on Thursday to extend their own term of office for another two years so that their mandate expires together with that of the local governor.

31 lawmakers out of 45 voted for the decision, ten were against and one abstained.

It was actually Irkutsk governor Yuriy Nozhikov who initiated the decision "in connection with the incompleted process of formation of the legislative base necessary for the work of the bodies of state authority and local self-government".

The governor and the legislature were elected on March 27, 1994, however Nozhikov was elected for four years, while lawmakers only for two and their mandate was to expire in March 1996.

Border Service Head on Kaliningrad Group 'Experiment'

WS1412100995 Kaliningrad KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 1

[Interview with Army General Andrey Nikolayev, director of the Russian Federation Federal Border Service, by V. Kostomarov; in Kaliningrad, date not given: "An Experiment Will Be Held in the Border Troops Kaliningrad Group" — first and last paragraphs are KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA introduction and conclusion]

[FBIS Translated Text] Army General Andrey Nikolayev, director of the Russian Federation Federal Border Service arrived in Kaliningrad on 1 December. A. Nikolayev answered journalists' questions at Kaliningrad's Khrabrovo International Airport. However, before that, KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA congratulated the country's chief border guard on his recent promotion to the rank of army general.

[Kostomarov] During your previous visit to the oblast you said that a Border Troops Polytechnic Institute would be established on the basis of the Kaliningrad Higher School of the Engineer Troops. How is that process going?

[Nikolayev] One of the tasks faced by the group that came with me to Kaliningrad is to prepare a plan for the establishment of the Institute. The Institute is to open on 1 August 1996. In the future, the Higher School's cadets will be trained both for the Defense Ministry and other departments, including the Federal Border Service.

This much about the Institute. The other purpose of our visit is as follows: Under the commander in chief's order, a large-scale experiment will be held in the Border Troops Kaliningrad Group, aimed at creating the most optimal structure — on which basis the work of the entire Federal Border Service will be built in the future. This work is scheduled to be completed within a year.

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[Kostomarov] Would you say a couple of words about the experiment?

[Nikolayev] We intend to create the most optimal system of border control and the most optimal structure of military formations, intelligence, surveillance, and cooperation with other bodies engaged in issues of border security. The special conditions of the functioning of troops [in Kaliningrad Oblast] will expedite the experiment. We will then apply the experience we gain throughout the Federal Border Service.

[Kostomarov] What is the current status of the issue of drafting legally-binding agreements on the Russian-Lithuanian border?

[Nikolayev] I would put it this way: If we had the Lithuanian side's consent, we would be able to sign the documents in the immediate future. There are almost no disputable issues left. However, as you know, this work is conducted by Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Our service participates in the process along with other interested departments. Incidentally, we will sign a temporary Russian-Lithuanian agreement on cooperation in border issues in one package with those documents, or perhaps even sooner. When a treaty is signed, the agreement may become permanent.

[Kostomarov] Do you plan any working meetings?

[Nikolayev] Yes, we have planned a meeting with Mr. Stancikas, general director of Lithuania's Border Police, to discuss the aforementioned issues.

[Kostomarov] Are there any territorial problems with Lithuania?

[Nikolayev] There always are problems when borders are demarcated. However, the Russian delegation believes that there are no unresolvable problems.

[Kostomarov] Given that a new training year has begun, how do you assess what was accomplished in the previous year by the commanders and servicemen of the Border Troops Kaliningrad Group?

[Nikolayev] We have one more year left to complete the establishment of the border infrastructure in general terms, because, as you know, a lot of minor questions still remain. The year 1996 will be the last year of the transitional period and the first year of implementing the Federal Border Program envisioned for the next five years. Undoubtedly, much has been accomplished by the Kaliningrad Group, both from the perspective of creating the infrastructure and resolving other issues. I would like to single out two problems for 1996. The first is the experiment. Given that organizational and personnel changes will be made, the group's potential, too, will be qualitatively increased. The other problem is creating conditions for the people who protect the state border. I do not mean housing alone; I mean the entire border infrastructure.

[Kostomarov] Are there plans to hold exercises similar to the "West-95" exercise conducted in Kaliningrad Oblast?

[Nikolayev] At the end of 1996, we are planning to conduct a specialized exercise in the Kaliningrad Group for the Border Troops alone, which will sum up the results of the experiment.

On the same day, at the office of the "Lukoil-Kaliningrad" company, A. Nikolayev held negotiations with his Lithuanian colleague, Stancikas, and met the Kaliningrad Oblast Administration leadership, the command of the Kaliningrad Special District, and the Border Troops Kaliningrad Group. After that, he visited the Higher School of the Engineer Troops.

Krasnoyarsk Governor Accused of Breaching Election Law

LD1412104195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0811 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KRASNOYARSK December 14 (Itar-Tass) — The governor of the Siberian Krasnoyarsk region was accused by the local election commission of breaching the election law by publicly backing his favourite candidates to the State Duma and criticising the others. The local prosecutor's office was requested to investigate the case and punish the governor.

The election commission ruled that public statements of Krasnoyarsk administration head Valeriy Zubov were "incorrect and unlawful" and its "decision was submitted to the regional prosecutor's office for bringing the governor to responsibility", commission chairman Georgiy Kostrykin told Tass on Thursday.

Speaking on local radio, Zubov listed those candidates who he said would "bring most advantages to the region if elected to the State Duma". At the same time, he criticised the work of two current State Duma members who are again running for the lower house of the national legislature in the region.

"Such agitation violates article 45 of the federal law 'On elections' which prohibits the bodies of state authority, as well as their officials to engage in election agitation or distribute any election materials while carrying out their office duties", Kostrykin said.

"We are expecting an immediate response to our submission from the prosecutor's office", he added.

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Novgorod Fraud Funds Could Have Financed Zhirinovskiy

MM1412125595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Nikolay Yefimovich: "Zhirinovskiy's 'Falcon' Plucked in Nizhniy Novgorod"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Criminal proceedings have been instituted against Andrey Morev, Zhirinovskiy's main comrade-in-arms in Nizhniy Novgorod and a candidate State Duma deputy. He is being charged with aggravated fraud.

As we managed to find out from the Nizhniy Novgorod Regional Administration for Organized Crime, which initiated this shocking lawsuit, Andrey Morev, vice president of the Nizhniy Novgorod Financial-Industrial Group, obtained multimillion credits last year on the basis of fictitious documents. It cannot be ruled out that this money was used both for the personal expenditure of Vladimir Volfovich's assistant, and for the needs of the party itself. At least it is already known that Zhirinovskiy's Nizhniy Novgorod headquarters have already been refurbished and furnished using credit funds.

Chechnya Reportage: Elections, Politics, Military

Elections Begin for Chechen President

LD1412070195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0645 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Sharip Asuyev and Sergey Trofimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY December 14 (Itar-Tass) — Three candidates are running for the post of the head of Chechnya at elections which began here amid enhanced security three days ahead of the scheduled date of December 17. Separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev is not on the list.

According to a decision of the Chechen parliament, elections to the Russia's State Duma and of the republican leader began at 07:00 hours local time (04:00 GMT) Thursday.

The most likely winner is the current Moscow-backed leader of Chechnya, Doku Zavgayev, 55. He used to be the communist head of the republic in Soviet years and was ousted by Dudayev four years ago.

Two other candidates are historian Mavsar Aduyev, 45, the editor of the independent "World democratic union" newspaper, and Lechi Saligov, 42, who chairs the Chechen committee for press and publishing business. Ex-Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov withdrew from elections.

Six candidates are vying for the mandate to the State Duma in one-seat constituency in Chechnya.

"The mechanism of pre-term elections in the republic has been chosen with the consideration of the existing situation in Chechnya", chairman of the local election commission Abdulkerim Arsakhanov told Tass on Thursday adding that mobile polling stations are working together with stationary ones.

Members of election commissions across Chechnya were armed to protect themselves from possible attacks of militants. Some 2,000 Chechen policemen are guarding the polling stations in the republic.

OSCE Group Leaves Groznyy

LD1312173795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (Interfax) — The Russian Foreign Ministry has verified information stating that the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] assistance group in Groznyy left Chechnya, Deputy Director of the European Cooperation Department in the Russian Foreign Ministry Mark Entin said in a Wednesday interview with Interfax.

The OSCE assistance group said its security was under threat due to the worsening situation in Chechnya caused by the elections of Chechnya's head and elections to the State Duma, scheduled for December 17.

"It's no secret that the Dudayev side has repeatedly threatened the OSCE assistance group. It's no secret that Dudayev's fighters have repeatedly fired on the building where the group was stationed. As a result, there were victims among Russian servicemen guarding the building," Entin said.

He made it clear that these reasons were the reason for the group's departure from Chechnya.

Members of the OSCE assistance group, Entin said, are likely to return to Groznyy after the most difficult period, maybe in two weeks.

Meanwhile, the Swiss Embassy to Moscow told Interfax that the greater part of this group went "abroad" from Groznyy. Switzerland currently chairs the OSCE.

As before, two members of the group still remain in the Chechen capital, the embassy said, but found it difficult to name them. Interfax's numerous attempts to establish contact with them were fruitless.

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Voter Turnout High in Groznyy

LD1412102795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1013 GMT 14 Dec 95

[By Sergey Trofimov and Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY December 14 (Itar-Tass) — At seven a.m. sharp, 85 polling stations opened in Groznyy. Elections to the State Duma and of the head of the Chechen republic are held in accordance with a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen republic.

Many more people went to the polls in central Groznyy, where it is safer than on the outskirts. Taking into account this fact, mobile polling stations, in addition to stationary ones, function on the rims of the city. Thus, 12 mobile polling stations are open in Groznyy's Leninskiy district.

As the voters turnout is high, and as the biggest number of voters will go to the polls in the central district, it will be necessary to ask the Republican Electoral Committee for extra ballots, Ilyas Sambiyev, deputy chairman of polling station number 12, told Itar-Tass.

More than 100 people were queuing at the door to the polling station. Most of them regard the elections as an opportunity to put a stop to lawlessness in the republic and to elect authorities.

Edict on Restoration Published

MM1312141795 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (Documents Section) in Russian 9 Dec 95 p 4

[Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1216 "On the Federal Targeted Program for the Restoration of the Chechen Republic Economy and Social Sphere in 1996," signed by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and dated 6 December 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] In accordance with the Federal Targeted Program for the Restoration of the Chechen Republic Economy and Social Sphere in 1996, wide-ranging work has been carried out in 1995, which has made it possible to restore a considerable proportion of the devastated housing, schools, hospitals, children's preschool establishments, power lines, railroads, highways, oil extraction installations and refineries, and industrial construction material and machine building enterprises. New jobs are being created, and the republic's population is being provided with a steady supply of basic foods, consumer goods, and construction materials.

In accordance with Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 898 of 5 September 1995 "On Additional Compensatory Payments to People Adversely Affected by the Resolution of the Crisis in the Chechen Republic" (SOBRANIYE ZAKONODATELSTVA ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSII, 1995, No. 37, p 3586) steps are being taken to provide the population of the Chechen Republic with social assistance and priority payment of compensatory benefits to people adversely affected by the resolution of the crisis has begun.

As a result of the steps taken, which have made it possible to create minimum living conditions, a considerable proportion of the population that left the Chechen Republic has returned.

With a view to continuing the normalization of the political situation, restoring industry and agriculture, and resolving social problems in the Chechen Republic in 1996 I decree that:

1. The concept of the Federal Targeted Program for the Restoration of the Chechen Republic Economy and Social Sphere in 1996 formulated by the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and coordinated with the Chechen Republic Government is hereby approved.

2. The Russian Federation Government is to ratify within a week the Federal Targeted Program for the Restoration of the Chechen Republic Economy and Social Sphere in 1996 and ensure the implementation of the scheduled measures, envisaging primarily:

— the completion of work to restore housing, educational, public health, trade, transport, and cultural facilities;

— the restoration of industrial installations, including the construction base and construction material enterprises, with a view to creating jobs for residents of the Chechen Republic;

— the completion of compensatory payments to residents of the Chechen Republic and people who left the republic in connection with their loss of housing and property as a result of the resolution of the crisis in the Chechen Republic;

— the restoration in the Chechen Republic of the television and radio broadcasting system plus the expansion of newspaper and journal publishing.

3. Russian Federation components' executive organs are hereby advised to formulate and implement in 1996 measures to assist the Chechen Republic Government in restoring the republic's economy and social sphere.

4. The Central Bank of Russia is to take the requisite steps to shorten the deadlines for payment for work carried out and step up supervision to ensure that budgetary funds are reaching their destination promptly.

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5. The Russian Federation president's official representative in the Chechen Republic is hereby made responsible for monitoring the implementation of this edict.

6. This edict comes into force on the day that it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow
6 December 1995

Dudayev To Wage War Until Russia 'Destroyed'

LD1312175595 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 95

[Report over video from Chechnya by correspondent Ilya Konavin, including recording of remarks by Dzhokhar Dudayev — from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Dzhokhar Dudayev, still underground, has responded to the events under way in Chechnya. He said he does not intend to wreck the elections, but he described the current situation in Chechnya as a stupid war. Another NTV film crew reports from Chechnya.

[Correspondent, over video of Dzhokhar Dudayev in combat fatigues, flanked by aide, seated on divan against background of Chechen flag, talking to newsmen] Amid the greatest secrecy, Dzhokhar Dudayev met journalists in a mountain village last night. Even after everyone had assembled, we had to wait quite a long time. The meeting began with a statement by the Ichkeria leadership about Doku Zavgayev, the head of the Chechen Republic, being received in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. This fact was said to prove how dependent these countries are upon Russia. Asked whether he is familiar with the text of the agreement on the delimitation of powers between Chechnya and Russia, Dzhokhar Dudayev gave an extremely sarcastic reply:

[Dudayev] I'm not familiar with the text, and quite frankly, I have no intention of reading it. But we are currently preparing the signing of a new agreement, one on Russia becoming a component part of Chechnya.

[Correspondent] Dudayev was just as cutting about Ruslan Khasbulatov's initiative.

[Dudayev] I tell you quite frankly I am not familiar with these statements, nor with their contents, since Ruslan Khasbulatov is a private individual. If the higher leadership of Russia cannot settle anything, what can Ruslan Khasbulatov settle with his ideas?

[Correspondent] Dzhokhar Dudayev thinks that the peace talks can resume only if there is a change of power in Russia. In the meantime, the war is entering a new phase.

[Dudayev] War is an art, and in such a stupid war, there can be no winners or losers. There is only self-destruction. We have nothing left of ourselves to destroy. Everything has been ruined, everything has been plundered, everything has been destroyed, and we have nothing to lose. So we intend to wage this war until Russia is completely destroyed.

[Correspondent] According to Dudayev, within the republic a trial of war criminals has already started, in which the world community should join. Criminal charges have also been brought against the Groznyy-based Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE].

[Dudayev] A still-born baby — and what is one to do with it? It is the OSCE which provoked the excesses and savagery. Finding evident cases of savagery here, the OSCE found that these cases of savagery were justified. The OSCE's reports stated that.

[Correspondent] Dzhokhar Dudayev also said that his family have not left the republic. His elder son is fighting against the federal troops, and the younger one is preparing to defend his motherland. Ilya Konavin, Maksim Ushanov, North Caucasus NTV bureau, from Chechnya.

Dudayev: Resumption of Talks 'Possible'

LD1312202595 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 95

[Video report by correspondent Ye. Pikunov; from the "Vest" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Piskunov] Dzhokhar Dudayev, former head of the Chechen Republic, has once again reminded the world of his existence. After a period of silence he gave an interview to a small group of journalists last night. Mostly foreign journalists gathered there, while the Russian media included only "Vesti" and NTV crews. The impromptu news conference concentrated, mainly, on Chechnya's future the way Dzhokhar Dudayev sees it.

(Begin Dudayev recording] The resumption of talks is possible and necessary, but only with those from the Russian side who can decide anything. Perhaps, we will have to wait for a change of power in Russia, because the current authorities cannot do anything, either to hold talks, make decisions, or implement them. We plan to bide our time until democratic and legal power structures appear in Russia.

The Russian-Chechen war has already acquired a new quality and specific features. The war is only starting. And since we have nothing to lose, we intend to wage

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this war until Russia is completely exhausted. [end recording]

Lebed Urges End to Chechnya Economic Aid

MM1412103095 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 95 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent under the "Authoritative View" rubric; place and date not given: "Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed: 'Today Shooting in Chechnya — Tomorrow State of Emergency in Russia'" — masthead describes paper as Chechnya intervention anniversary "Special Edition""]

[FBIS Translated Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Aleksandr Ivanovich, what in your view are the causes of the crisis in Chechnya?

[Lebed] Everything started in 1991. We pulled the Armed Forces out of Chechnya, leaving 100 percent of our armaments, equipment, and ammunition there; that is, we essentially handed it over to Dudayev. Shaposhnikov began this but Grachev continued. Next. Oil extraction in Chechnya accounts for 1 percent of Russia's oil extraction as a whole. It would seem that 1 percent more or less would not make a great difference. No one knows yet what volume of oil was pumped into the Groznyy refinery and what happened to the processed products. Nobody controlled the air space over the republic, an immense number of aircraft landed in Chechnya and were exempted from duty, then they flew off to unknown destinations; moreover we also do not know who exempted them. Genocide of the Russian-speaking population was practiced openly in Chechnya, but the Russian Government made no response to it whatsoever.

You get the impression that an openly criminal mafia-style regime, which until a certain point paid its dues, was lovingly nurtured in Chechnya. But when it realized that it had become sufficiently strong, had matured, and could tell its "big brother" where to go, it stopped paying. Only then did the Russian leadership ask the question: What should we do? It was decided to send in the Army as the police were no longer able to deal with this regime on its own. The president gave the order for measures to be taken without issuing any official directives on the subject. For some reason the prime minister specifically took this to mean the Army's involvement. But it emerges from documents that the defense minister started the war in Chechnya on a whim. As a result we have a disaster on our hands that could have been avoided.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You mean to say that the many deaths, the deaths of hundreds of our boys in uniform and the deaths of women, old folk, and children could have been avoided?

[Lebed] Of course. We should first of all have taken measures to apply political and economic pressure: The air space should have been closed and the borders blockaded — that is, a series of absolutely peaceful measures should have been taken. However, the Russian leadership at first tolerated the Dudayev regime, then elected to use force. What is more, it did so in the most ham- fisted manner. The sending of troops into Chechnya was preceded by the most shameful provocation — the storming of Groznyy on 26 November when Russian tank crewmen were recruited, sat in their tanks, tricked to a man, and launched into the city without infantry cover, where they were, of course, burned. Then we simply washed our hands of them. Following that, new recruits were sent into Chechnya who had only just been drafted and had not yet even really learned how to hold an assault rifle. The consequences are well known.

The present situation in Chechnya can be described in the following manner: "There is neither war nor peace there." The Armed Forces have again been humiliated. They fought and fought, according to some statistics between 50,000 and 70,000 people were killed, and now negotiations are in progress. Why then was the war necessary? Why did we start it when we were, after all, completely unprepared! For me as a military man and one who has already done enough fighting, the question arose long ago as to whether it is at all necessary to wage war in order to get around the negotiating table? Would it not have been simpler to choose the civilized route right from the start?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But now, after more than a year of war in Chechnya, when each day brings reports of the deaths of soldiers and civilians, after the storming of Groznyy and the tragedies of Budennovsk and Samashki, is the civilized route you talk about possible?

[Lebed] I am convinced that it is necessary to exert an influence on Chechnya first and foremost through economic measures. In my view, the entire Russian population and all forces should be withdrawn from there and Chechnya should be given the opportunity to experience the burden of economic freedom. Then we will see if it will buckle under the pressure. But I do not think that Chechnya will be able to be economically independent of Russia.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Do you think that the government does not understand this?

[Lebed] Maybe it does, after all it also contain people who are not stupid. But we should not forget that

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the Chechen conflict has become a kind of constant factor that may be used at any moment in Russia to justify canceling the elections, imposing a state of emergency, and other similar actions. The constant threats by Dudayev and Basayev to instigate acts of terrorism in Russia and even in Moscow play into the hands of the very many people who do not want to allow a change of power by peaceful, democratic means. This is a cause for very serious alarm.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You, Aleksandr Ivanovich, as a fighting general, have, so to speak, smelled the smell of battle. In your opinion, what kind of future awaits Chechnya; are you an optimist or a pessimist?

[Lebed] While the present government is still in power, it is very difficult to make any kinds of predictions whatsoever, and not just in connection with Chechnya. But, I personally am convinced that this problem should be resolved and resolved in a determined and logical manner. You cannot, after all, forget the fact that the Chechen problem has an influence not only on the situation in Russia but on the situation in the world as a whole. It has complicated our relations with the Islamic world and has become one of the reasons for NATO's expansion. That is, the war in Chechnya has led to a dramatic worsening of Russia's position in the foreign political sphere, whichhas in recent years become completely weakened even without this. Therefore, the swiftest possible resolution of the Chechen problem is in Russia's national interests.

Casualties in Russian-Chechen Hospital Clash

LD1412083495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0822 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW December 14 (Itar-Tass) — A Russian armoured convoy, which was sent to the town of Gudermes to free the local hospital from Chechen militants, came under fire early on Thursday while driving through city streets and casualties were reported on both sides, a spokesman of the Russian military command in Chechnya told Tass.

He said the Russian troops opened return fire. "There are killed and wounded on both sides", the spokesman said, but did not specify the number of casualties.

The hospital in Gudermes, 30 kilometres east of Groznyy, was seized in early hours on Thursday by some 40 militants. All the patients were evacuated from there and only deputy chief doctor remained in the hospital. The militants have not advanced any demands so far.

Huge Cost of Chechnya, War Evaluated

MM1312135595 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (Chechnya Intervention Anniversary Special Edition) in Russian 10 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Sergey Frolov: "Money-War-Money. In the Space of a Year the Dudayev Regime Stole $1 Billion. A Minimum of $6 Billion Will Be Required To Rebuild the Republic...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Every war has its price. Leaving to one side arguments about the inestimable value of the human lives that have been lost, the Chechen adventure also has an absolutely specific monetary cost.

Let us for a start calculate what the indulgence going under the name of the "Chechen Revolution" has cost Russia?

Of course, the driving force behind "independence" was oil. Economists consider that Dudayev's structures earned up to $1 billion annually from the illegal sale of petroleum products. Apart from this, the Chechen authorities — both the official and shadow authorities — received enormous amounts of money from the use of their airspace. We will clearly never know what was the value of the various goods exported through Groznyy airport — each month up to 120 unsanctioned flights abroad were made from here.

Financial machinations were particularly popular — the infamous transactions involving letters of advice and "Rossiya" checks enabled the Chechen mafia to make off with around 10 trillion rubles [R] from the ailing Russian budget. In 1993, 52 high-quality copying machines were brought into Chechnya and in the same year fake bills to the value of R9.4 billion were confiscated on the territory of the Russian Federation (at the present level of inflation this sum increases approximately fivefold).

Apart from cunning means of siphoning off money there were more primitive methods like the misappropriation of federal money which regularly arrived from Moscow for the payment of pensions and allowances. And the "income tax" that the many Chechen gangs operating within Russia levied to the benefit of Groznyy. Ordinary Chechens did not wish to fall behind their high-ranking fellow-tribesmen and simply robbed trains passing through the rebellious republic. According to MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] statistics, some 559 trains were subjected to attacks during 1993 — around 4,000 cars were robbed at a loss of R11.5 billion valued at 1993 rates. In 1994, more than 1,100 cars and 500 containers did not make it across Chechnya.

Losses amounted to almost R12 billion.

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Only three years later, the Russian Government finally decided to plug the "black hole" in Chechnya and then...did everything in its power to increase this hole's diameter.

After a year of the war, the expenditure of the Defense Ministry alone has amounted to almost R3 trillion.

You see, apart from the Army, MVD and border troops, and counterintelligence officers have fought in Chechnya — you can just imagine what their expenditure has been. The expenditure on units of the Ministry for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of Natural Disasters [MChS] comes under a separate heading — journalists wandering along the front lines this year must have noticed that the MChS officers did not want for anything. We must not, of course, forget the expenditure on treatment for the wounded, burials, and allowances for their families....

After the war started, hundreds of foreign contracts, which profited Russia, fell through — the frightened foreign company "reps" did not want to have dealings with a country at war. But how can foreign countries help; shots in Groznyy have been echoed throughout the region of the Caucasus — little Karachayevo-Cherkessia alone lost R300 billion due to a disrupted tourist season in the skiing resorts.

Nevertheless, the largest amounts of money disappear into the jaws of the beast going by the name of "rebuilding." Here are just a few figures: In this year alone R5.1 trillion have been transferred to Chechnya. The Russian Federation Economics Ministry has prepared a draft three-year program for the Chechen Republic's rebuilding with a total value of around R30 trillion, but according to Khadzhiyev, former head of the government of national revival, R45-50 trillion will be required just to replace state facilities, and infrastructure and housing in Chechnya.

Against this background, the figures for the petrodollars stolen by Dudayev simply pale into insignificance.

In this way, little Chechnya, where little more than a million people lived, has managed to "force out" of great Russia a sum that would be enough to provide facilities for a small European state. And this, after all, is only the beginning. You cannot help but arrive at the paradoxical thought that economically speaking, the Dudayev regime, which could to some degree be controlled, was more advantageous to Russia, than the present "black hole" punched through by us a year ago....

Economic Issues

Government To Deal Only With Selected Large Banks

LD1312162295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1353 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 13 (FIA-INTERFAX) — Only banks with a paid nominal capital of at least 1 million ECU will be allowed to finance government programs on a repayable basis, the Finance Ministry's Public Relations Department told the Financial Information Agency Wednesday.

The list of such banks will be made by a government commission for financial and credit policies, and on a competitive basis, with due account taken of the banks' performance in the current and previous years.

The main criteria for selecting banks are the balance between the bank's capital and assets with the risk factor taken into account; the balance between the bank's capital and commitments, and the correlation between the liquid assets and commitments against call-up accounts.

Other requirements are the availability of reserves to cover losses; the presence of state securities in the credit portfolios and a minimal debt in the quarterly report.

The selected banks shall act as the government's authorized banks during a year with a possibility of prolonging the term.

New 'Military Package' Seen as Insufficient

MK1412130895 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Vladimir Yermolin: "Budget Passed by the Duma. Spending on Defense Shrinking Faster Than the Armed Forces Themselves. For National Defense Needs in 1996, 82.462 Trillion Rubles Have Been Allocated. Finance Potential of Armed Forces Reduced by 30 Trillion Rubles as Against 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Watch Out! Budget Was Passed On the Eve of Elections

Everything was decided "in the tempo of an electoral waltz" — it took the deputies a little more than half an hour to cope with the 1996 federal budget. The law was passed on second and third readings at the same time. On one hand, there are grounds to rejoice, and with good reason, over the fact that, for the first time in five years, the country will emerge in the new year with a budget passed and ratified. On the other hand, we can

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only speculate about the defects in this parliamentary "product," passed in a hurry on the election eve. My misgiving was confirmed by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Piskunov of the State Duma Defense Committee, a veteran of the legislation committees of the last six years concerned with the "military package" laws.

"Regrettably, a populist approach prevailed at this session," said Aleksandr Piskunov. "Deputies voted with enthusiasm for most incredible figures, giving no thought at all to where the money will have to be found for all these showy gestures. I nearly started fearing that they would get down to slashing the already halved defense budget. But things got settled: A government official promised that the deputies' decisions would be fulfilled at the first opportunity, as soon as additional sources of revenue were found."

Many of the parliamentarians, no doubt, even did not intend to fight to the last for their amendments. The main thing was to record in the minutes their own vote in support of the interests of a particular electorate. Thus, it can be said that the budget fell victim to a relapse of love for the people on the part of those who had once again set their sights on becoming deputies or, rather, a relapse of love for the electorate.

Now some words on the defense budget itself.

It Could Have Been Worse

Let me remind the reader that originally, the government proposed that the armed forces fit into 78.972 trillion [rubles]. The State Duma Defense Committee — running with the hare and hunting with the hounds — proposed 110 trillion. Ultimately, as it has already been said, the Duma allocated for national defense 82.462 trillion. An additional 3 trillion and 490 billion were found and earmarked for research and development and weapons procurement, respectively. Moreover, thanks to Piskunov's efforts, supported by his not numerous fellow deputies sympathizing with the military, 500 billion more was added for housing for army officers. About 75 percent of the funds assigned for the "Housing" federal program will be spent for the same purpose. Furthermore, the 1996 federal budget law stipulates that, out of an excess revenue, one trillion shall be appropriated to the Russian Federation Armed Forces. Such revenues will inevitably be generated because the inflation coefficient has been underrated in comparison with the realities of the coming year. Finally, the total expenditure side concerning national defense will be subject to periodic indexation. In the 1995 federal budget law, there was no mention of it. With this, the list of good news resulting from the passage of the new defense budget seems to be exhausted.

Want Money? Be Prepared for Debts

What are we, defenders of the Fatherland, to expect from this budget? Right you are, a slow but sure sinking into an abyss of debt. While the current budget was safely laid to rest by October — salaries, food products, transport costs, services of the utilities, and payment for electric power and communications services were left hanging in midair — the forthcoming budget will be in dire straits in six months. Certainly, additional sources will be sought, and, little by little, money will be paid into the army coffers. The military will not be left without money or bread. It is not ruled out, however, that they will have to fast for a couple of months. Although, we can only speculate as to the problems that the IV financing will bring about for the defense industry and military science and technology projects and what blow it will strike against the planned combat training. A reputation of a habitual nonpayer is nothing new to the Defense Ministry, but how far can the situation be pushed? What sort of life is that, with a finance fever in the Armed Forces having been provided for by the law?

You hear 'em tramping along in their boots?

True, among the deputies, those in epaulets may turn out to be a fairly perceptible section. Aleksandr Piskunov pins his hopes on the new composition of the Duma. His optimism is caused by the fact that quite a number of professionals from the military can be spotted among the contenders although they are currently showing up under various party banners. He judges that lobbying is a positive political trend in the majority of world's parliaments. Possibly, this country will also see a deputy grouping concerned, first and foremost, about national defense.

It is important that all power ministers join their efforts. Today, each is pulling the blanket to himself. Everyone has a committee of his own. It was due to this, among other reasons, that the armed forces were reduced from 2.7 million men to 1.5 million, and along with this, an extra 2.5 million infantrymen came into being unnoticed. They are also due for their share, so that the budget pie is being ripped to pieces. An altercation is going on; the funds are being diffused, vanishing into thin air. Duma committees are "butting each other", spurred by competing departments.

It would be fine, Piskunov thinks, if all of these united in the new Duma under the auspices of one committee, that for defense and security. In addition, the deputy places his hopes on the recently passed budget classifier law, which provides for more openness as regards departmental spending, including that of the Armed

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Forces. This being the case, a parliamentarian will cross out not impersonal trillions but, say, twenty missiles, one cruiser, the Moscow antiaircraft defense system or winter caps for soldiers.... This is a totally different responsibility level, you must admit. It will enable the Counting Chamber to exercise a stricter control over the government and the Finance Ministry as regards their implementation of the budget. This will make the ground for abuse increasingly unsteady (it is yet early to dream about this ground disappearing altogether).

The most important factor that will determine to a great extent the fate of future defense budgets is the formation in the new Duma of a team capable of professionally tackling the "military package" laws so that the new brooms will not rustle in the storage quarters of the Defense Committee, sweeping out everything already done to pave the way for future laws only because these drafts are "alien," prepared by politically alien elements. One cannot but share Aleksandr Piskunov's concern.

Deputy, May You Be Remembered Not Because of This Budget

What is going to happen tomorrow? We will see. One thing is clear: A serviceman will serve Russia irrespective of how the country itself assesses its security. Its high-level statesmen may make mistakes, whereas the vocation of the Fatherland's defender is such that he cannot afford making them. The soldier knows the true value of this security. That is why at times he looks at the highbrow Duma deputies with anguish and bewilderment. Soon they will leave (with someone else arriving in their place right away), so let us say these words as they are leaving, "Deputy, thank you for everything, and may you be remembered not because of this budget."

$2 Billion in Exports Fails To Reach State Coffers

LD1312201495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1945 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Nadezhda Anisimova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Over two billion U.S. dollars from export earnings failed to return to the Russian government's coffers, members of the governmental payment and clearing improvement commission said on Wednesday.

Crude oil (860.5 million dollars), oil product (728.3 million dollars) and non-ferrous metals (332.2 million dollars) exporters come first on the indebtedness list, according to the commission members.

In the meantime, the introduction of currency control over import and export operations made it possible to halve the amount of "missing" earnings in 1994 compared to 1993.

Although the 1995 results will be available only in the first half of 1996, it is clear now that the amount of "missing" export earnings will be considerably reduced than in 1994.

In spite of the optimistic tone of some reports, Russian Vice-Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays recommended to toughen currency control.

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International Affairs

Kiev, London Want Closer Cooperation

LD1312232595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2052 GMT 13 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The election of Leonid Kuchma, the start of economic reforms and Ukraine's joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty made possible a new stage in the relations between Kiev and London, Dmitriy Tabachnik, the president's chief of staff, believes.

He told Interfax in an interview on President Leonid Kuchma's three-day visit to Britain that while London's attitude towards Kiev was once positive but restrained, now London treats Kiev as an entity quite outside the former USSR. Tabachnik recalled that the leaders of the two countries have met on numerous occasions in 1995 and that the British parliament was one of the first to ratify the Ukrainian-EU partnership and cooperation agreement.

The joint declaration to be signed by the leaders of the two countries Wednesday is testimony of a more active rapprochement between the two countries, Tabachnik said. He expressed the hope that the document will enhance Ukraine's international standing.

Tabachnik explained that the leaders of the two countries will debate economic issues and a wide range of international problems. An agreement on road links, a memorandum of understanding on confiscation of property obtained in a criminal way and numerous economic agreements will be signed at the summit.

A presidential-parliamentary republic is the best possible form of the state structure now, Kuchma told representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora in London where he arrived Tuesday for an official visit.

Kuchma confirmed his intention to dismantle the inefficient system of soviets over "stiff resistance offered by our opponents." He was confident that the constitutional draft submitted by a working group to the Constitutional Commission will be supported by Ukrainian society.

Kuchma promised that the Ukrainian leadership will encourage expansion of the private sector. He said that nearly five million people have received the right to own land in recent years.

Kuchma also took note of production stabilization in certain industries and said that the fall of real incomes has ended.

Kuchma is to meet with Premier John Major and sign a joint declaration with him Wednesday.

The draft of the declaration says that both countries want to develop bilateral economic and political relations. London welcomes Kiev's decision to close down the Chernobyl nuclear power station before 2000 and is prepared to help Ukrainian contacts with the G7 group of nations.

Both sides are said to welcome the increasing role played by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in resolving international conflicts, notably in the former Yugoslavia and to confirm their commitment to principles of free trade.

Also Wednesday, Kuchma will have talks with Jacques Larosier, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and sign three credit agreements.

UK's Major Praises 'Courageous' Step on Chernobyl

LD1312230595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2228 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] LONDON, Dec 13 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine plays a key role in the future of Europe, British Prime Minister John Major told journalists in London Wednesday. His statement followed his talks with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma.

According to Major, their meeting focused on "economic, political and defense issues."

"I voiced my support of the progress of reforms in Ukraine," he added.

Major said the U.K. will boost aid to Ukraine through a special know-how fund.

Major praised highly Kuchma's "courageous step" to shut down the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. He said the U.K. is eagerly awaiting the signing of a relevant memorandum between Ukraine and the G7.

For his part, Kuchma thanked Major for assistance in Ukraine's admission in the Council of Europe.

"We discussed chiefly bilateral agreements. I am glad that the British side has the desire to take part in reforming Ukraine's economy," he said. "I am sure this is only the start of Ukrainian-British relations," he added.

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Importance of Chernobyl Underscored at UN Meeting

AU1212140795 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 7 Dec 95 p 16

[Report by UKRINFORM: "The Chernobyl Topic at the United Nations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A discussion of measures that need to be implemented to attract the attention of the world community to the Chernobyl topic — this was the objective of the expanded meeting of the UN Coordinating Committee for Chernobyl that was held in New York at the level of ministries. Our country was represented by Vasyl Kovalchuk, head of the international department at Ukraine's Ministry for Issues of Protection of the Population From the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES [Atomic Electric Power Plant].

Proposals on looking for donors were also discussed. A discussion of how the international community might best commemorate the 10th anniversary of the accident at the Chernobyl AES that falls on 26 April 1996 was the second topic at the meeting.

A report, received through the ITAR-TASS channels, reads that particular concern was voiced at the conference about the international community's unwillingness to finance the program for minimizing the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, in particular, the WHO program on reducing the effect of the Chernobyl accident on human health. Hope was expressed that the UN secretary general would, in this connection, issue a general appeal to donor states. It was also proposed that a calendar for main national and international measures to be held in 1996 be considered, including those directly timed for 26 April. One such measure might be "Chernobyl Commemoration Day" to be held on 26 April with UN participation.

"In Ukraine, the health of more than 3.3 million people was affected by the radiation. In more than 2,000 populated areas on the territory affected by the aftermath of the accident, more than 2.5 million people, including 500,000 children, continue to reside. More than 4 percent of Ukraine's state budget goes for financing work on cleanup operations," said Borys Hudyma, Ukraine's deputy permanent representative at the United Nations. He emphasized that "Quite conspicuous is the present decline of interest on the part of the world community for the Chernobyl theme. This trend toward the decline of interest has persisted from year to year, despite the obvious increase in the incidence of disease in those countries that have been affected."

EBRD Provides Kiev With $75 Million Loan

LD1312220795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2045 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] LONDON, December 13 (Itar-Tass) — The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) will provide Ukraine with a loan worth over 75 million U.S. dollars to promote economic reform in the republic, EBRD President Jacques de Larosiere said in London on Wednesday on completion of talks with visiting Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma.

Kuchma and de Larosiere on Wednesday signed an agreement on allocating an additional loan worth 50 million U.S. dollars to Kiev for trade and private banking development programmes.

The success achieved by Kiev in stabilising the macroeconomic situation in the country, the implementation of economic reform — all these factors offer a powerful incentive to the developing private sector of the republic, the EBRD official said.

The Ukrainian government achieved striking results in the sphere of reorganising the country's power sector. Today's agreements will accelerate the republic's transition to market economy, he said.

One of the major difficulties facing the country is the problem of power resources, Kuchma said.

"We shall be able to strengthen our power base, in the first place our thermoelectric power stations, with the EBRD loan," he said.

Official Cited on Results of Geneva GATT Talks

WS1412095995 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0839 GMT 14 Dec 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Switzerland — The second meeting of a group working on the question of Ukraine's joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) ended on December 13. Participants examined whether Ukrainian legislation was in accordance with GATT/WTO requirements and also held multilateral talks concerning reciprocal concessions with regard to access for goods from other countries to the Ukrainian market and for Ukrainian goods to foreign markets. Andriy Honcharuk, Ukraine's deputy minister of foreign economic relations and trade and the head of the Ukrainian delegation, told INFOBANK that during the next six months, before the group's third meeting is to

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take place, Ukraine should make changes to its Customs Code and should also submit its proposal to GATT experts with regard to tariff rates on the import of foreign goods onto the Ukrainian market

According to Mr. Honcharuk, Ukraine's entry into GATT and the WTO will also require a very dynamic (six-month) harmonization of the economy and legislation with world trade requirements. This applies in particular to agriculture, privatization, and tax policies. If the third meeting, which is to be held at the end of June 1996, is successful, Mr. Honcharuk said, then the group will meet at the end of the year at a formal meeting for the signing of documents concerning Ukraine's membership in GATT/WTO.

Mr. Honcharuk said that during the Geneva meeting which was attended by delegations from more than 30 countries and nine representatives of international financial organizations over 20 countries who are members of GATT expressed readiness on their part to come to an agreement with Ukraine with regard to concrete tariff concessions. However, Mr. Honcharuk refused to say what types of concrete agreements had already been reached since. Until the tariff concessions are finalized, information regarding them is confidential.

On December 13 Mr. Honcharuk held talks with the deputy secretary general of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Aldo Mateucci, during which the preparation of a memorandum concerning cooperation between this organization and Ukraine was discussed.

One participant in the Geneva meeting told INFOBANK that Russia lags far behind Ukraine in joining GATT/WTO. Representatives from the Russian government have failed thus far to answer series of questions put to them by experts from GATT/WTO.

Agreement Signed with Konrad Adenauer Foundation

LD1312195795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1912 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Aleksey Trotsenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, December 13 (Itar-Tass) - A ceremony of signing an agreement on cooperation between the commission for coordination of humanitarian aid under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Germany) was held in the Ukrainian capital.

Vice-Prime Minister Ivan Kuras who signed the agreement on the Ukrainian side, stressed that this action was yet another convincing evidence of a rising trend in the development of Ukrainian-German ties.

Ukraine stated its readiness for closer mutually advantageous cooperation with all state and political, and non-governmental foreign organisations which were interested in the establishment of new Europe.

Cooperation with Germany is of a particular interest to Ukraine. Non-governmental organisations should also play an important role as a guarantor of the observance of human rights, Kuras noted.

He expressed the confidence that cooperation between the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the commission for coordination of humanitarian aid would promote the expansion of Ukrainian-German contacts and the strengthening of friendly ties between the peoples of the two countries.

"Thanks to Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma's state visit to Germany this year, the level of relations between our countries has become still higher," Gerd Langguth, executive chairman of the board of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, stressed.

"We are satisfied that Ukraine continues the process of reforms and are prepared to assist in this. The signing of this agreement is creating new possibilities for our exchange in many spheres of humanitarian activities," Langguth said.

'Certain Difficulties' for Russian Voters

LD1312213095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2012 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, December 13 (Itar-Tass) - The voting of Russian citizens in Ukraine at the elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation may have certain difficulties, Vladimir Spandaryan, chairman of the polling district in Kiev and first counselor of the Russian embassy in Ukraine, told Itar-Tass on Wednesday.

He informed that this might be connected mainly with voting by the Black Sea fleet personnel. The Russian side requested Ukrainian authorities to conduct voting on December 17 directly in military units but the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry have not yet given a permission to do this.

Thus, servicemen of the Black Sea fleet and other Russian electors living in Sevastopol, will be compelled to vote there together. Spandaryan said that this is not only difficult but also unsafe.

The note of the Russian Foreign Ministry requesting to carry out voting in military units is still being

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considered, a spokesman for the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry told Itar-Tass.

At the same time the Ukrainian side met Russia halfway by permitting to open additional polling stations in Kharkov and Simferopol.

The main polling stations will be located in Kiev, Lvov and Odessa, Spandaryan said. According to him, 15,000 Russian voters are now in Ukraine.

Election commissions prepared "reserve" ballot papers as there are many refugees in Ukraine, including those from Chechnya.

Touching on election campaigning in Ukraine, Vladimir Spandaryan said that here "it works through the channels of Russian television." In addition, there are lists of blocs and nominated candidates, and their brief programmes at polling stations. Any voter may familiarise himself with them.

The Russian diplomat expects that about 1,000 Russian citizens will participate in voting in Kiev. To receive a ballot paper it will be enough to produce a passport with a note of Russian citizenship.

National Affairs

IAEA To Monitor 'Nuclear Fuel Movement' at Rivne AES

AU1412111895 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 12 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Viktor Mazanyy from Rivne: "The Rivne AES Has Been Placed Under IAEA Guarantees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Special television equipment, installed by IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] experts will, from now on, follow all nuclear fuel movements at the third power unit of the Rivne AES [Atomic Electric Power Plant]. This means that a part of the western Ukrainian power engineering facility has been placed under the guarantees of the International Agency to preclude the utilization of nuclear materials for purposes other than the production of electricity.

In this connection, the quantity and types of fuel were checked — fresh fuel, fuel loaded into the reactor, and also spent fuel, which is stored in the decay tank. All channels through which nuclear fuel passes in the technological cycle are sealed and labeled. Once every three months, representatives of the IAEA will remove the video-cassettes and study the information recorded on them. From now on, the Rivne AES must coordinate all operations involving the movement of the nuclear fuel through the reactor with the IAEA.

The work that has just started is the first stage in placing the Rivne AES under the guarantees of the IAEA, which is a key link in the implementation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. This year, similar procedures will also be performed on two other power units.

Shmarov on General Staff, Russia, NATO

WS1412113495 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 6 Dec 95 p 8

[Interview with Defense Minister Valeriy Mykolayovych Shmarov, by H. Chernomorskiy; place and date not given: "We Share One State and We Must Take Care of It" — first paragraph is VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI introduction]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] **Valeriy Shmarov is 50 years old. He was born in Vinnytsya Oblast to a family of a serviceman. In 1966 he finished a special radio electronics secondary school in Kiev and in six years he graduated from the Shevchenko State University. He worked for 20 years at the Kiev radio factory, rising from an operator to production chief. In 1987 he was nominated as a defense factory director; in 1992 he was appointed to the post of first deputy general director of the Ukrainian National Space Agency. In June 1993 Valeriy Mykolayovych became Ukrainian deputy prime minister; in 1994 he was nominated as defense minister. He is married and has two children. His wife is a teacher; his daughter is a radio and electronics engineer; his son is a cadet at a border troop school.**

When Finances Are a Romantic Myth

[Chernomorskiy] Valeriy Mykolayovych, it is no secret to any of us that the economic situation in Ukraine, to say the least, leaves much to be desired. It is quite natural that today the country cannot fully meet the financial needs of its Armed Forces. We know that the state budget for the current year envisaged the issuing of 50 percent of the amount requested by the Defense Ministry. In addition, a considerable portion of this money, so to say, "has flown by" the army. How can one survive in such an extraordinary situation? Have you addressed the president, our supreme commander-in-chief, on the issue?

[Shmarov] Regrettably, the situation is even more than serious. Over several years, the military budget has been shrinking. This year the ministry received not 50 percent but only 22 percent of the requested amount. This money was channeled primarily to the life-support system of the Armed Forces: It was used to provide servicemen with food, uniforms, and pay and to support barracks inventory. Of course, we do not sit by. Subsidiary plots established at each military unit and military state farms in Odessa and Transcarpathian

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Military Districts are a great help. I declare with all responsibility that privates and warrant officers are provided with proper food. Truth be told, we have certain difficulties with supplying them with milk, eggs, and fruit, but I repeat: The personnel of the Armed Forces are not hungry. Servicemen are provided with clothes and shoes.

Military training is a more difficult issue. A pilot who does not fly stops being a pilot, no matter how much time he spends on training using simulators. What kind of training, tell me please, will a driver-mechanic obtain at theoretical classes? This method is only applicable at the preliminary stage of training, but later practical training is required. As regards officers, they also must upgrade their proficiency not only during command and staff exercises when, according to army wiseacres, a commander of a regiment attacks with a flag in his hand. We have modern equipment but mileage resources are limited; the army is short of fuel and spare parts; scientific research is hindered by the lack of money. Naturally, I, as first deputy of the supreme commander in chief in the Defense Committee, raise these issues regularly in the presence of the president, the prime minister, and the finance minister. They try to help us in whatever appropriate way they can. The decline cannot last forever: beyond a certain limit, chaos begins.

Pavel Is a Normal Guy

[Chernomorskiy] You have painted a quite gloomy picture.

[Shmarov] I agree with you, but the situation is far from hopeless. The Supreme Council is currently discussing our future budget and I hope that it will be show more understanding regarding our needs. If you know the results of the Sochi negotiations, perhaps you have paid attention to the following detail. We will sell Russia a large batch of planes and missiles which do not suit our military concept. To be more correct, we will not sell, we will exchange them on a barter basis, because it is more reliable. If we sell equipment, the army — as they put it — could be left without money, because each ministry needs it. Based on the agreement with the president, I agreed with Pavel Grachev to conduct a barter deal. We give them planes and missiles and they provide us with fuel and spare parts for our front line aviation and radio engineering units. As you know, Ukraine will receive quite a lot of money for finishing the construction of ships for the Russian Navy at the Mykolayiv shipyards.

[Chernomorskiy] You have mentioned Pavel Grachev. According to the Russian as well as Ukrainian press, he has a disgusting, explosive temper; this former paratrooper does not come to any agreements.

[Shmarov] Indeed Pavel Sergeyevich has a severe temper and, as they put it, nothing can be done about it. He, however, is a very rational man. As regards all former misunderstandings, I have an impression that they should be blamed not only on Grachev. An agreement is not a one-way street. It envisages mutual concessions. When our side made a compromise, Grachev responded adequately. Although I repeat myself, I say that I have no reasons to bear grudges against my Russian counterpart for the results of the Sochi negotiations. Naturally, I reported on this to Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma.

One Should Not Whip Up Passions

[Chernomorskiy] Figuratively speaking, intellectual ferment is currently going on in society. The reason is the simultaneous resignation of two presidential advisers who dealt with defense issues. Did they not agree with our military doctrine or has Leonid Danylovych [Kuchma] been forced to do so?

[Shmarov] It seems that representatives of the fourth power [the press], genuine power, — either due to the lack of information or due to another reason — are purposefully trying to inflate the conflict. Yes, two presidential advisers have been relieved of their posts. One of them, Yuriy Havrylov, had nothing to do with defense issues; he handled security problems. As regards Vadym Hrechaninov, he was indeed in charge of defense issues. I cannot say anything bad about this man. But he was already 64 years old; his age was rather advanced. In addition, is it not an inalienable right of a president to choose his advisers? Hence, there is no question of any political pressure. Although I became a serviceman not so long ago, believe me that I have already learned to call a spade a spade without any diplomatic politeness. In this case, we witnessed an attempt to misinform society and create an impression of a conflict in the presidential team on the eve of runoff elections.

Disagreements With the General Staff Are of a Working Nature

[Chernomorskiy] Only a year has passed since you headed the Defense Ministry. Tell me frankly, is it simple for a civilian, although with quite great learning, to head such a ministry? Is it not associated with certain difficulties? In particular, rumors of your conflict with Colonel General Anatoliy Lopata are being persistently spread. Next, have functions of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff been fully divided? As regards the West....

[Shmarov] It is enough, you may not continue: I understand your question. Let us try to thoroughly sort this issue out. You have mentioned the division of

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functions. Indeed this is envisaged. The General Staff is a body to draft plans; it develops a concept, a doctrine, and based on its drafts puts forward proposals regarding their resolution. My inalienable right, however, is to agree or disagree with its proposal. This right is even envisaged by the position description that directly specifies that the chief of the General Staff is my first deputy. If this is so, I am his direct chief. This is obvious.

As regards disagreements, to some extent, they truly exist. The concept of the Armed Forces and the military doctrine have been changed; not everything that was developed by our military experts — although very talented people — over decades can now be used for the benefit of the state. But agree with me, please, that it is not so easy to reject the old, which has been tested by practice and experience. Therefore, disagreements emerge, although they are of a purely working nature. By the way, in the West, which you have mentioned, where the division of power between military ministers and general staffs is more precise, I would say, classic, these disagreements are of a more acute nature. Of course, no one challenges another person to a duel, but heated discussions sometimes end with heart attacks. Yes, like this.

Guns Sometimes Begin To Fire....

[Chernomorskiy] How are our and Russia's positions on peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia similar? Which advantages does Ukraine obtain for its non-bloc position?

[Shmarov] Well, the question should be rather: How do our and the Russian positions on resolving the Balkan crisis coincide? Well, Russia thinks that its troops cannot fulfill all NATO commands implicitly, because Russia is not a NATO member. Its position on the issue has been considered. If an American general heads NATO troops, and a Russian general is his deputy, that will make it possible to more fully coordinate purely military issues and political decisions.

As regards Ukraine, it also holds a specific position on the issue; and although our general will not be a deputy NATO general, the Ukrainian president and the government have approved a decision according to which our peacekeepers will be stationed in the French troop sector. As is known, although France is a NATO member, it is not a member of the NATO military organization; therefore, our peacekeepers, as well as the French troops, will be quite independent.

As regards our nonbloc position, it has not only advantages, but also provides a lot of difficulties. As regards advantages, they are primarily: Due to the fact that our state is not a member of any military bloc, it is guaranteed against being involved in military conflicts which could emerge as a result of ill-thoughtout actions performed by any side. As regards this issue, Ukraine is not an exception. Switzerland, Austria, and Sweden are nonbloc countries. If Switzerland, for example, is not concerned with its security, because gold reserves of almost the entire world are kept in its banks, Austria sometimes feels itself quite uncomfortable. Who enjoys neighbors being armed to their teeth? In addition, historic experience shows that despite various diplomatic guarantees, guns are characterized by one unpleasant thing: sometimes, they begin to fire. Therefore, a demand to reject a nonbloc policy is often heard even in Austria, famous for its democratic traditions.

Ukraine also experiences certain difficulties in this aspect. We, however, participate in the CIS Military Committee only as an observer and, frankly speaking, not everybody likes this. Due to this, political and economic pressure is sometimes exerted on us. But I still do not see an alternative to the nonbloc policy. As regards the NATO eastward movement, I take this quite calmly. In addition, I think that there will not be any eastward movement in the immediate future. In general, I admit that in some five-10 years, NATO in its current form will not make sense. Meanwhile, Ukraine must strictly observe away of political behavior which would make it possible for it to acquire as many friends as possible all over the world, without being involved in military conflicts. [passage omitted]

Mirnyy Black Sea Fleet Base Abandoned

LD1312184295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1900 GMT on 12 December, broadcasts the "Segodnya" newscast, which features a four-minute special video report on the Black Sea fleet bases of Mirnyy and Novozernyy, which are more commonly known as Donuzlav, in northern Crimea.

Recently there were more than 20,000 people living in Mirnyy, the families of seamen, airmen, and technicians, the unidentified correspondent says, over video of naval and air installations, ships, aircraft, and housing and streets. In the negotiations over the division of the Black Sea fleet, Ukraine insisted on acquiring Mirnyy. Admiral Baltin, Black Sea fleet commander, tells the correspondent the handover has to be accomplished in only two months, a schedule he describes as "absurd."

Servicemen and part of the equipment have been transferred, leaving behind in Mirnyy only 7,000 people, "abandoned to the will of fate," as the correspondent says — pensioners, men soon to be released into the reserve, and officers who have transferred their

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allegiance to Ukraine. Mirnyy now has no lighting, water, heating, or gas; kindergartens are not operating, shops are empty, and schools will not be working after this month, there is no transport.

"Now it has emerged that Ukraine's Defense Ministry needs neither the town, nor the servicemen, since the state has no means to maintain them." Admiral Baltin says: "There are leaders who used to be in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, and are still there, who are just over-ambitious, who keep repeating one phrase — everything's mine! But their eyes are too big for their stomachs, requirements are enormous, but there are no possibilities."

Vehicles, helicopters, and amphibious aircraft are parked uselessly on the unguarded airfield, and all that can be unscrewed has been taken away to nearby dachas. Officers are to be found selling kerosene lamps and cigarettes at the market, trying to make up for not receiving any wages for the last five months; it is virtually impossible to find work.

"The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has found a way out, however: It has decided to give the unwanted town, together with its inhabitants, to the Republic of Crimea. The Crimean authorities had hardly recovered after receiving this gift, than they found out about a new victory for the Defense Ministry — the Black Sea fleet is handing the town of Novozernyy over to Ukraine as well," the correspondent says.

Viktor Maksimov, chief of staff of the Crimean naval base, says the town will die, just like Mirnyy, if the Russian fleet withdraw from Novozernyy, because Crimea cannot afford to maintain either town.

Economic Issues

Marchuk Views Economic Problems, Reform

AU1312162395 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 7 Dec 95 pp 1,3,4

[Interview with Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk by HOLOS UKRAYINY Editor-in-Chief Serhiy Pravdenko; place and date not given: "Medicine Is Always Bitter, However, One Cannot Recover Without It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pravdenko] Yevhen Kyrylovych, the government program sets the task of increasing budget revenue in 1996. Where from? Through what measures? Taxes? The producers are, even now, being overwhelmed by them....

[Marchuk] When the president met with producers in Kharkiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and other regions, they did not ask for money, but requested that the taxation rules should remain unchanged, so that they could work in accordance with a stable taxation schedule. Certain changes will only affect alcoholic beverages and cigarettes. The 6-percent budget deficit is proposed. This means 427 trillion karbovantsi [K]. Non-emission sources for covering the deficit are implied. The above sum is made up of K170 trillion as external assistance, K150 trillion as the government's securities, and K107 trillion as credits from the National Bank. This is largely non-emission coverage. What are the government's securities all about? The need to expand the stock market, essentially bonds to be sold by the government. A person who buys them will get a profit. If a person returns these securities, he will get his money back with a profit. This is the mechanism for attracting funds to the economy, and it also applies to the shadow economy funds. Of course, this explanation is oversimplified.

[Pravdenko] However, people who have been fooled many times do not trust the state.

[Marchuk] Confidence must be recovered, at least gradually. This year, securities worth about K20 trillion have been sold. Therefore, we have already started attracting free non-emission capital into the economy. There has not been a single case when funds for even one bond have not been returned. Confidence in the state is of prime importance, and we must struggle to win this confidence.

[Pravdenko] Can you recommend, for me personally, whether it is worth my while to purchase government securities?

[Marchuk] Yes, I can. I will also buy them. The functioning of the stock market is an important issue. It is trading in securities. First, they are purchased by commercial banks and then, in accordance with a particular schedule, by physical and legal entities. It is the secondary market of securities. Here, it is essential that any person can, at any time, sell his government securities and get his money back.

We must develop the stock market. We also hope that some legislative bills that are at the parliament will be adopted by the end of the year. For example, on state regulation of the manufacture of alcohol and hard drinks. Its adoption will promote budget revenues.

In the future, perhaps even in 1997, we will try to do without credits from the National Bank, even though this will be difficult. The most important thing for us is to curb inflation, because it undermines all prices, wages, ratios, proportions, the exchange rate, and so on.

[Pravdenko] Yevhen Kyrylovych, you know very well that high taxes encourage people to avoid paying them. At the same time, people tend to pay optimal taxes, at least for the sake of their own peace of mind. This

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makes it possible to increase the funds contributed by tax payers. Notwithstanding this, our state seems to be pushing people to resort to tricks: Otherwise they will have nothing left.

[Marchuk] Of course, we must try to optimize taxes and reach an optimum that would make it possible to expand production and replenish budgetary funds. The wisdom here is in finding such a borderline.

[Pravdenko] So to speak, in literally finding a golden mean.

[Marchuk] Precisely. The objective of our policy is as follows: Not to raise rates, but to stimulate amounts of taxes. This work must be conducted concurrently with the Supreme Council. Legislation is in its hands. At present, there are eight legislative bills that the government handed over to the Supreme Council at different times. They are at various stages of processing. We are interested in having them adopted as soon as possible and in maintaining taxes that are not higher than before. Why are we interested in this? Because 37 percent of the budget's revenue part is based upon obsolete norms or upon legislative bills that have not yet been adopted. I reiterate: Raising taxes would ultimately undermine the producer's confidence in the state. A taxation code must solve the problem fundamentally and for a long time. An initial variant has already been drafted. It is my cherished dream to have this code.

[Pravdenko] Therefore, the code must involve a long-term taxation strategy and determine those borderlines that the legislator himself will not be able to trespass. Will this mean that the producer is getting a clear perspective?

[Marchuk] Precisely. We will not change the rules of the game by the end of this year and during next year. We need the code as a single tax-regulation document.

[Pravdenko] Critics of the government program point out that it is meant for branches and subbranches of industry and not the population's purchasing power. The purchasing power is capable of boosting trade, which, in turn, may boost production. In this manner, a certain recovery may be achieved. How can you respond to such criticism?

[Marchuk] What goes in front — the horse or the cart? What is the population's purchasing power? It is good wages and pensions. What constitutes good wages? It is manufactured goods that are cheap and plentiful.

[Pravdenko] And, of course, a large share of wages in the primary cost of products.

[Marchuk] This too. However, it is only possible to raise the purchasing power through raising the efficiency of labor.

Here, two things go side by side: Material production and the increase of its efficiency and a relevant rise in the purchasing power. There was a period in summer when the rate of wage increase was ahead of the rate of price rises. It was a manipulation in the sphere of consumption funding. I can cite an example from the activity of an oil refinery. A considerable part of its profit was used for raising wages and not for lowering the cost of the product or for expanding production. What equipment will they use tomorrow? If one increases the consumption fund at the expense of the volume of production and through raising prices, what kind of producer is this?! We are putting an end to such "raises."

[Pravdenko] A question from our editorial mail. Many of our readers are asking how we are receiving natural gas from Russia. Who does the counting? And where? Do we make the calculation when we are receiving it or does Russia do this when it turns the tap on? In other words, where is the gas meter? Does the prime minister get information on natural gas deliveries?

[Marchuk] How much was supplied, how much was consumed, the amount of the deficit, how much was used up at electric power plants due to the shortage of coal and fuel oil. We have to cover all of this with natural gas. I know all the arithmetic, literally to one cubic meter. There also were some manipulations, but internal ones only. An enterprise consumed some natural gas, but it was written off as being consumed by communal housing services. Because the state subsidizes gas for the population, selling it at prices below what it really costs.

[Pravdenko] In the past, Ukraine used to sell electricity abroad. For about $1 billion a year. What's the situation now?

[Marchuk] We no longer sell it. There isn't enough for ourselves. There is a disbalance during evening hours. There are more consumers than electricity. At the national controller's office, one can see when this occurs. The operator has several mechanisms to handle this situation. Unless he adopts the right decision, automatic devices will start operating. Some consumers will be disconnected from the network, inparticular, to protect atomic electric-power plants and to maintain the necessary energy-supply level there. However, apart from disconnection, there are also compensatory measures. Automatic devices turn on hydroelectric plants. It is a kind of accumulator. However, disbalance may be so great that all the additional hydroelectric power plants

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on the Dnieper River will not be enough to cope with it. In such cases, the Russian power engineering system helps us out. It is on stand-by in case of need.

I will soon go to see how the construction of the Dniester Pumped-Storage Electric Power Plant [HAES] is progressing. If we commission this plant next year, it will replace the Dnieper complex for us, because even now we have problems with the Dnieper. The great river must be taken care of. Thirty-five million people depend on the Dnieper River for their water supply.

[Pravdenko] Does this mean that, at least in the future, Ukraine will give up the appalling "conquest of nature" embodied in the hydroelectric power plants that have bound the Dnieper River and are choking it?

[Marchuk] We will put the Dniester HAES into operation. We signed an agreement with the World Bank when we were in the United States. We will get a preferential credit for rehabilitating our hydroelectric plants. However, this financing will start in 1997. I asked the head of the World Bank to start financing the Dniester HAES in 1996. The head of board of the World Bank promised to promote this.

[Pravdenko] It is common knowledge that electricity per unit industrial production in Ukraine is much higher than in Western European or American countries. Yet, it is not there that we save electricity, but by cutting electricity supply to villages. Thus, rural areas have to pay for our problems. Is this fair or at least efficacious?

[Marchuk] Right, the picture is, indeed, not encouraging. There still remains much that is unsightly and defective in our economy and management. Disconnecting a single factory does not have such a social impact as leaving 100 or 200 villages without electricity. This is not taken into account when consumers are disconnected — it is the general amount that matters. Then engines start roaring in the villages to ensure that at least the milking of cows can proceed. We had a serious conversation regarding this. The minister of power engineering was tasked with finding a way out of such a situation. It is quite complicated. A schedule must be prepared. We know that the load is the highest during the evening hours. We must adapt to this flexibly and not bluntly to avoid a situation in which automatic devices will cut off the electricity supply. Everything must be kept under control and in accordance with the schedule. It is one thing to cut off a club and something entirely different to leave a farm without electricity, or a metallurgical combine where continuous production process is under way. The most important thing, especially where enterprises are concerned, is not to disconnect those who pay in the same way that debtors are disconnected. This is a very serious problem for the Ministry of Power Engineering.

[Pravdenko] No government likes criticism. Well, who likes it anyway?! However, what must be done about the fact that Ukraine, with its economic potential close to that of Northern America, has plunged to the level of Southern America in terms of the standard of living? Who is to blame for this? Governments that have changed? "New Ukrainians," the majority of whom are guided by the philosophy of criminals and not civilized people? Who? How can Ukraine occupy a worthy place under the sun in this tough world? There is assistance that Ukraine is getting and some related plans, however, our external debt is also growing. This is alarming. We know quite well how, for example, Brazil, entangled in debts, "thrives." Brazil, where millions of children are thrown onto the street. It is alarming....

[Marchuk] I will start with the fact that Ukraine's economy has very unpractical structures. Besides, it used to be extremely militarized. We can go on manufacturing many things that we don't need and that we cannot sell on the external market. We have an extremely powerful chemical industry that pollutes the environment. At the same time, we do not have, for example, the pharmaceutical industry that we need. Consequently, we have received a legacy with very irrational proportions. It may take about 15 years to adjust all of this and to rise to a normal balance. Second, we have extremely depleted basic assets in many industries. For decades, nobody took proper care to restore assets in the metallurgy, mechanical engineering, or extractive industries. During its last years, the USSR somehow maintained the standard of living with the help of petrodollars and the sale of natural gas and timber. This could not last long. Therefore, serious capital investments in the economy and new technologies are needed.

The unjustifiably cheap energy sources have distorted the entire system of price formation. That is why we have inherited a colossal expenditure of electricity per unit product. The state took pride in its gross product, the largest open-hearth furnaces and blast furnaces, and not in efficiency.

We are becoming almost helpless by delaying reforms. Thereby we further aggravate the shortcomings that we have inherited.

We are late in doing many things that our neighbors have already accomplished. Well, they have not created a paradise either. However, they are moving faster along the road that has many advantages. I mean privatization and the reform of relations in rural areas and the stock market. Inflation needs to be contained so that money

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is not depreciated. All of this requires organized actions and the creation of a market infrastructure.

[Pravdenko] Why, do you think, do we lag behind our neighbors? Because the struggle between old and new in our country is particularly acute? Or because we are generally more conservative, are afraid of innovations, and still dream of the glorious yesterday that had been promised so widely and for such a long time and that collapsed so quickly? What is the crux of the matter?

[Marchuk] This may be accounted for in various ways, including conservatism. However, I would not like to claim that this is some national characteristic. Much depends upon the leaders of the state and good ideas. Here is an example. About K100 trillion "circulates" rather inefficiently in the financial system. If we had a proper treasury, this capital would have reached its destination in two or three days and not in a month or two. Now, as they say, we are creating our treasury in an amateurish manner. Here there also are quite a number of problems with personnel. It is not so simple to get such a mechanism going. We will launch it some day next year. Had we done this two years earlier, what gains we would have! Colossal!

Therefore, the idea must first mature, then we must organize work, gather people, assign work places to them, explain their tasks so that they will become enthusiastic, and then launch the system throughout its vertical structure. This is a matter of time. We have wasted too much of it over the four years.

[Pravdenko] Yevhen Kyrylovych, one can see that you think and analyze a lot. Tell me, do you see, if not a light, then at least a ray of hope at the end of the tunnel?

[Marchuk] I am not the only one who can see it. Those who can analyze things also see it. I do not want to say that, by a certain date, there will be an improvement, then another one, and then a third. However, I know absolutely for sure that we will overcome the crisis. Everybody who has studied the experience of eastern European and CIS countries knows this. There is an anatomy of this phenomenon — both economic and mathematical. There is a single pattern everywhere. And we now are proceeding correctly, but, I reiterate, we are lagging behind.

The pattern is as follows. When annual inflation finally reaches 30 percent, this is a sign for the economy to start normalizing. When it falls to at least 25 percent or, better still, to 20 percent, the economy starts normalizing very quickly. Everybody has gone through this pattern. If we do not break down under the pressure of political considerations, we will contain inflation, and the economy will be given a boost. If we give in and throw trillions of karbovantsi on issuing paper money, we will plunge to great depths. Everything in the economy must be measured: at both the macro- and microlevels. Improvement will never take place at the level of production if inflation prevails at the top, inflation that, like a forest fire, burns tops of trees, which stop growing after that.

[Pravdenko] Incidentally, about political considerations. Some people speak about the government's correct policy and others about the governments anti-national policy. However, if one lives out of pocket, more specifically, if tens of unearned — printed — trillions of rubles are thrown, even with best intentions, on social needs, what will this lead to? To an exacerbation of the disease, its development into a chronic one, or to recovery? Besides, what is, indeed, a policy in the interests of the people and what is an anti-national policy?

[Marchuk] From the point of view of the economy, we are a country that is seriously sick. Treatment may be therapeutic, or surgical, or with the help of hypnosis, or through illusions. If the treatment is through therapy or surgery, this remedy is ghastly and bitter and the procedure is unpleasant and painful. The physician also knows that there is some risk involved. He knows where and which process will start. If, however, one cheers himself up by illusions, the condition may be neglected to such an extent that the doctor will be helpless. Draw your own conclusions.

[Pravdenko] I noticed that a clause in the governmental program mentions difficulties with mineral fertilizers. At the same time, in a different section, they are listed as a priority in external trade, a commodity for export. What is better from your point of view: To administer these fertilizers to the soil and have more grain and sell that grain, or to sell mineral fertilizers and have less grain? Is there a certain strategy here, or are we under the pressure of circumstances to sell what we can possibly sell?

[Marchuk] There is a strategy; for both grain and mineral fertilizers. Here is an example. In the spring of this year, the president, holding a conference in Vinnytsya, heard from the agrarians: We have no fertilizers. He instructed the minister of industry to give the village fertilizers. The Ministry of Industry did so. However, it did not get anything in exchange, and nobody repaid the debt. How can we expect to be able to pay for the Russian natural gas that went for the production of those fertilizers? Chemical plants are in bad shape.

Right, a lot was taken from villages without any payment. Or they were simply swindled. As a result,

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a village got used to this: If it gets something, it may, likewise, fail to pay for it. However, where will the president or the ministry get the money? Not everybody has realized yet that these are different times and that everything needs to be paid for. And the prices are market prices and not those established by directives. Therefore, regarding fertilizers, the procedure is as follows: Two thirds go abroad to earn currency and one third stays in the country. However, this ratio will change as soon as in 1996. We will keep two thirds of the product. This is the strategy on the issue.

Of course, it is better to sell the end product — grain. Flour is better still, and so on. This is what we strive to achieve. It is a matter of the need to reform relations in the village.

[Pravdenko] We have now at last approached this burning problem. In whose hands, do you think, must land be?

[Marchuk] In the hands of those who have worked and continue to work on it. In the hands of those who know its moral and mundane price.

[Pravdenko] Must this be private ownership of land, or is it sufficient to abide by what the current Land Code entry reads: ownership with the right to inheritance? I, personally, am worried about the right to the private ownership of land and even more so about the right to lease it. This is what I see: Today, a chairman of the state farm or a chairman of a collective farm will take the best plot of land for himself. He may, for example, conclude an agreement with some foreign firm and get fuel in exchange. He will then sell the fuel and deposit the money in a bank. Abroad. The land mortgaged by that agreement will be taken by the foreign firm. The "dealer" will provide for his livelihood and the villagers will work on "our, but somebody else's land." I am particularly upset by this scenario.

[Marchuk] You know, I would not, perhaps, formulate the question in this manner. Let there even be a foreign owner, but the purpose of the land use should not change. If that owner brings new technology that will raise the crop yield and improve the quality of the soil, let him work. Even though I am against completely opening the road for foreigners to own agricultural land now. It is possible to find our own fellow citizen in that same village. The main thing is what is going to happen to the land. Here, the state must set explicit conditions for both agricultural and other types of land. There is still something that people in villages do not understand. Nobody explains things to them. Many people fear cooperative ownership, having no idea what it is. I have an example. I visited my home village of Dolynivka in Kirovohrad Oblast. Elderly people, who have known me since my childhood, asked: What are you doing there with dividing shares? Tell us what we can do with this land.

It turned out that the collective farm chairman, a young man, has failed to explain a lot of things to the people. I told them what it was all about. Here, I said, we have Mykola, a young fellow. You all know him. He is a leader of a tractor team. He lives here, and his children also live here. You know that he is a good farmer. You can entrust your shares to him, if you cannot cope with this work. Yes, they said, we trust him. In that case, I said, lease your land to him so that he has a chance to expand. Then your grandson will return from the army service. If he wants to work on land — let him develop his activities. You may not only lease land, but even sell it if that is good for you. Think and rate your strength and possibilities.

[Pravdenko] I, too, Yevhen Kyrylovych, have a certain reproof for the village nomenklatura that does not explain everything to people, specially elderly people. On the other hand, it is also clear that, in many places, collective farms or KSP's [expansion not known] are outdated. Even demographically.

[Marchuk] Undoubtedly, there are different chairmen of collective farms or KSP's. However, I am convinced that the land must belong to those who work it and who know how to work it.

[Pravdenko] Right, there are more problems here than can be solved within one year. People must know their rights and how to use them. Let us return to the budget and its replenishment. Newspapers, certainly, have their correspondents, who contribute much information. Of course, we do not have any investigatory or other structures to check everything thoroughly. There are other bodies for that. Here is a piece of information: In one blessed town, a head of the rayon taxation service paid $300,000 to purchase a luxurious apartment that had been decorated in European style. I wonder: How many others had been bribed by him to hold their tongues? And how many structures had been allowed to avoid taxes to be able to collect such a sum? Yet another example. A large state-owned factory. The leadership keeps pestering the government: Grant us preferential credits and subsidies so that we can pay at least something to our people. The same leadership purchases prestigious real estate in the capital. What to do with this?

[Marchuk] There are two trends of struggle here. The activity of law-enforcement bodies is important, but it is, in fact, secondary. They combat consequences. To begin with, there must be declarations of citizens' personal

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incomes. If the wife of a modest official starts sporting an expensive fur coat, this will not remain unnoticed.

[Pravdenko] Right, that American, Ames, who worked for Russian intelligence, got caught precisely because of on this — spending above his official salary.

[Marchuk] For the sake of objectivity, I will say that it was not because of this that he was caught. It is true, though, that his lavish spending that did exceed his salary was evidence of the charges against him.

[Pravdenko] If possible, a few questions about your life and your family. What is your family?

[Marchuk] I have a wife, two sons, and two daughters-in-law. My younger son studies at a college and the elder son works. I have two grandchildren. My wife runs the household. She is a technology engineer and has been working in her profession all the time.

[Pravdenko] When you have some leisure, what do you like to do?

[Marchuk] I have very little free time now. When I had it, I played the piano and the bayan [a kind of accordion]. My cousin graduated from the Odessa conservatory, and he taught me how to play. I have records of almost the entire world classical music — European, Ukrainian, Russian, and much church music. Besides, I have a good library.

[Pravdenko] Do you read new things or reread classical literature?

[Marchuk] More often I reread the classics.

[Pravdenko] You have a pedagogical education. Your experience of work — special services. Now you speak as an economist and prime minister. Is this self-education or something else?

[Marchuk] It depends. Apart from the humanities, I also have special training. We were taught to be well versed in numerous spheres of knowledge, to be able to analyze, and to make correct and far-sighted conclusions. We also seriously studied economics, philosophy, and many other disciplines, foreign languages, psychology, and political sciences....

[Pravdenko] Please tell me whether you have some most-vivid childhood memory.

[Marchuk] I have. When my mother took me, for the first time, to school in our Dolynivka. That was the only time that I was led somewhere by the hand. I remember the mood of festivity and something unusual, and my mother's hand. And how she took me home, all that excitement. It was the year 1948, and we were "small and did not have much to wear" [quotation from poetry of Shevchenko].

[Pravdenko] Thank you for finding time to talk to HOLOS UKRAYINY.

[Marchuk] I also thank the newspaper, which I respect.

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Belarus

Minsk Cites Chernomyrdin's Denial of Belarus Unification

WS1412091195 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian government leader Viktor Chernomyrdin has categorically denied rumors about possibility of postponing or canceling the June 1996 presidential elections. He stated this at a briefing in Moscow devoted to the third anniversary of his election as Russia's prime minister.

Responding to the question as to whether a possible unification between Russia and Belarus may serve as a reason for postponing the presidential elections, Chernomyrdin said that there will not be any unification.

Lukashenka Appoints New General Staff Chief

WS1412092695 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0739 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to a Presidential Decree, Lieutenant-General Alyaksandr Chumakow has been appointed chief of the General Headquarters of the Belarusian Armed Forces. He has automatically become First Deputy Minister of Defence in accordance with regulations.

As Minister of Defence Leanid Maltsew announced at the December 13 press conference, at one time Mr. Chumakow filled the post of headquarters chief of the Belarusian Military District, then he was a military adviser of Russia in North Korea. Later he was at the disposal of the Land Force Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Federation. After his transfer to Belarus at his own request, he was at the disposal of the defence minister. At the last session of the Ministry of Defence Collegium General Chumakow was sworn in.

According to information received, General Chumakow was not the only one candidate to this post. The President considered at least two other candidates. However Mr. Maltsew refused to name these people for reasons of ethics. The defence minister said he was aware that the ranks of district headquarters chief and general headquarters chief of the national armed forces somewhat differ. However he expressed hope that his extent of knowledge and experience would help General Chumakow cope with his functions.

Meets With Defense Industry Managers

WS1412092795 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka has held a meeting with the managers of leading scientific-research and research-design organizations of the former Belarusian military-industrial complex. The results of the severance of integrating ties and changes in the system of management of design, production, and sales of products have been most visible in this sector of the national economy. Many companies, scientific-research institutes, and design bureaus have been able to overcome the economic crisis and maintain operatiions and highly professional staffs. Staffs of other companies and organizations have not yet reorganized their work, have not introduced new methods of management, thus requiring assistance.

The president held substantive talks on the problems of the branch science and science-intensive production. Methods of providing state assistance to staffs which are of key importance to our Republic's economy were defined, and measures for stimulating scientific-research and research-design work, developing production of competitive products, and expanding integration ties with CIS states and countries of the far abroad were outlined.

Orders Shopkeepers To Increase Stock

LD1312191195 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of Belarus Alyaksandr Lukashenka has sent a telegram to the Cabinet of Ministers, the minister of trade, the chairman of the Belarusian Consumer Cooperatives Directorate, chairmen of Regional Executive Committees, and of the Minsk town Executive Committee and to the chief of the Presidential Monitoring Service.

The telegram says, in particular: Recently there has been an increase in the number of complaints from the population over the organization of trade in all parts of the republic. The absence of essential goods, the poor range of goods, and in some cases empty shelves in the shops have become commonplace in trading enterprises.

Expressing concern at this, I demand that you take urgent measures to eliminate these shortcomings. The presidential Monitoring Service is to monitor the state of affairs and, where incidents of unsatisfactory work are disclosed, it is to take all necessary measures to bring the guilty staff to book.

NATO Team Arrives To Inspect CFE Implementation

WS1412095695 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0739 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On the evening of December 12 a NATO inspection group under the flag of Italy

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arrived in Minsk on the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe [CFE] Treaty. In the group are experts from Italy, Germany and the U.S.A. who will inspect a declared place within two days. The declared place has turned out to be regiment of the 120th motorized infantry division in Uruchcha, near Minsk.

Prime Minister Arrives in Ukraine on Official Visit

WS1412121095 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An official visit to Ukraine by a Belarusian delegation led by Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir began today. At the airport, the Belarusian delegation was met by Ukrainian Prime Minister Marchuk. Currently, the Belarusian delegation is holding talks with the Ukrainian side on methods of increasing the volume of trade and grain deliveries to our Republic.

Today Mikhail Chyhir also will lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and will visit the Arsenal plant. This evening, it is planned to sign four basic intergovernmental agreements on mutual support for and protection of investments, citizens' guarantees and rights concerning pensions, cooperation in policy toward young people, and establishing joint control at the border checkpoints located on the Ukrainian-Belarusian border. Meetings between Mikhail Chyhir and Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, the Supreme Council speaker, and the managers of the largest banks are scheduled for tomorrow.

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Armenia

Papazyan on Russian Elections, Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1312231695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2120 GMT 13 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] YEREVAN, Dec 13 (Interfax) — Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan believes that the December 17 State Duma elections in Russia are unlikely to bring about any major changes in Moscow's foreign policy.

Papazyan told a news conference in Yerevan on Tuesday that for Armenia it was important that the process of democratization in Russia should go on.

"Russia is Armenia's biggest neighbor and one of its leading partners," Papazyan said.

About his participation in the session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels on December 6-7 Papazyan said that Armenia would soon present to the Council its individual program for cooperation with NATO within the framework of Partnership for Peace.

Papazyan said that Yerevan did not regard military cooperation with NATO as a priority.

He explained that "Armenia has rather developed military relations with other former Soviet republics, in the first place, with Russia." "We do not see any reason why we should ruin what took so much effort to build over the past few years," he said.

At the same time Papazyan believes that in certain spheres cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance may prove mutually beneficial.

The Armenian foreign minister said he was satisfied with the fact that Azerbaijan's attempts to involve NATO in settling the Karabakh problem failed to draw a favorable response from NATO leaders. "NATO officials in Brussels are perfectly aware that NATO cannot play any role in that matter," Papazyan said.

As he commented on the discussion of the Karabakh problem the OSCE foreign ministers held in Budapest on December 8-10, Papazyan said that the mediators, including the OSCE, demanded more active steps to settle the conflict and probably were exerting certain pressure in a bid to achieve the desired result as soon as possible.

He stated that although the negotiations on the problem went on, they were becoming ever slower and more difficult.

Papazyan said that there would soon be direct contacts, trilateral and bilateral, involving Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno- Karabakh, which would "help narrow differences over key aspects of a future settlement."

Papazyan believes that "in the foreseeable future the armistice on the Karabakh front established on May 12 1994 is unlikely to be violated." At the same time he did not rule out that hostilities might resume if another round of talks ended inconclusively.

As for the possibility of economic sanctions against those reluctant to compromise, Papazyan said they were unlikely.

"At the same time it is not ruled out that mediators, angry about slow progress in the negotiations, would be forced to reconsider their attitude to Armenia," Papazyan said.

He said that security guarantees for Nagorno-Karabakh and its people were crucial to Yerevan. "No international organization can provide such guarantees. Guarantees by individual countries are more likely," he said.

Papazyan said that Armenia itself might undertake to provide part of the guarantees. "This is a very important question and it must be a subject matter of negotiations," Papazyan said.

He dismissed as groundless Baku's allegations that Yerevan put forward the status of Nagorno-Karabakh as a priority. "On the contrary, we believe that discussing that problem at this point would make no sense," Papazyan said.

He expressed the hope that Armenia would manage to agree on a common position with Nagorno-Karabakh, which has so far had a different vision of the question.

Says Karabakh Talks Not 'Effective'

NC1312205895 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 0650 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 11/12/95 NOYAN TAPAN— At a news conference held in Yerevan yesterday, Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan said that international organizations are unable to give firm security guarantees to Mountainous Karabakh and its population. From this point of view, guarantees provided by separate countries are more real. According to him, there is no clear-cut system ensuring security of Mountainous Karabakh and its population. Armenia is working in this direction. Proposals by the Armenian party will be presented to Co-Chairmen and the Azeri party, and this issue is to be discussed at the forthcoming round of negotiations. Papazyan voiced hope that the parties would come to an agreement during the discussions.

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Vahan Papazyan noted that the issue of safety of Karabakh and its population is Armenia's top priority. He rejected allegations by the Azeri side that Armenia's top priority is the future status of Mountainous Karabakh. According to Papazyan, the discussion of Karabakh's status on the current stage will not be effective.

Azerbaijan

Oct 94 Coup Plotter Sentenced to Death

LD1312190695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1659 GMT 13 Dec 95

[By Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, December 13 (Itar-Tass) - The military panel of Azerbaijan's Supreme Court on Wednesday sentenced to death Eldar Aliyev, a former top military commander, convicted of high treason in connection with his involvement in an attempted coup of October 1994.

Four other military officers received from four to 12 years in prison, the court said.

Aliyev headed the regional military police office in the city of Gyandzha, in western Azerbaijan, where an attempt to topple President Geydar Aliyev was launched and resulted in three days of bloody clashes.

The coup attempt was led by ex-premier Suret Guseinov backed by several high-ranking military and police officers including Eldar Aliyev.

President Urges Closer Relations With Iran

LD1312143595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1109 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, Dec 13 (Interfax) — Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev said the slowing pace of Azerbaijani-Iranian relations noted over the last period of time must be overcome.

"One cannot allow cooling in our bilateral relations," he declared at a meeting with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi in Baku on Tuesday evening.

Azerbaijan, he said, would not let any other country influence the Azerbaijani-Iranian relationship.

Aliyev underlined Iran's important role in its aid to the Nakhichevan autonomous republic, a part of Azerbaijan physically cut off from the rest of the country. He expressed gratitude to the Iranian party for supply of electric power and gas to this region, and for allowing Azerbaijan to use Iranian roads for traffic to and from the region.

For his part, Va'ezi said that Iran is prepared to continue rendering assistance to Nakhichevan.

Speaking about the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, he said that the Iranian party was successful in releasing eight Azerbaijani prisoners of war. He said they will be handed over to Azerbaijan in the near [as received] few days.

Aliyev and Va'ezi agreed in principle on the Azerbaijani president's visit to Tehran.

Iran's Va'ezi Says 'No Problems'

NC1312153495 Baku TURAN in English 1803 GMT 12 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/12.12.95/TURAN— "There are no problems in our relations, the relations develop successfully", Iran's deputy Foreign Minister, Mahmud Va'ezi, said during his meeting with President Aliyev.

Mr. Va'ezi said Baku's negotiations conducted with the Foreign Minister, Gasan Gasanov, and the State Adviser, Vafa Guluzade, showed that the "frequently positions of the sides coincide or similar". The relations between our states must correspond to the relations between our nations, Va'ezi noted. "When we have sent Mr. [Ambassador] Bikdeli here we told him improve relations as you like", he said.

At the same time Mr. Va'ezi mentioned there are "hands, which want to spoil good relations between the brothers". "We must be on alert", he said.

Mr. Va'ezi also noted that Iran understands the problems of Nakhichevan. He expressed the readiness of Iran to provide any assistance gas, electric energy or transport communication to Nakhichevan.

Mr. Va'ezi said Iran is interested in restoration of stable peace in the region and it is ready to promote settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Iranian diplomat said recently the Armenian side has given 8 Azeri prisoners to Tehran. "We will make every efforts to release maximum amount of prisoners and we do not distinguish between sons and daughters of Iran and Azerbaijan", Mr. Va'ezi noted. He expressed hope that the sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan will be restored over Nagorno-Karabakh and occupied lands will be liberated.

Mr. Va'ezi has conveyed invitation of President Hashemi-Rafsanjani to President Aliyev to pay official visit to Iran in the near future.

President Aliyev noted he would like to see President Hashemi-Rafsanjani in Azerbaijan where he will be met

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as the most honourable guest and brother. President Aliyev thanked the Iranian side for assistance in release of 8 prisoners saying that unfortunately, thousands of Azeris are currently in Armenian prison.

President Aliyev mentioned today there are 19 months since the day of the cease-fire. "We are against resumption of hostilities. If Armenia understands that one must not settle the conflict by force, peace talks will bring the results", he noted. President said the basic condition of Baku is liberation of occupied territories and withdrawal of the Armenian troops from occupied lands, including Shusha and Lachin.

Touching upon bilateral relations, President Aliyev noted one cannot reconcile with worsening of relations between Iran and Azerbaijan. "Our relations have great potential and it must be developed", President Aliyev said.

Mahmud Va'ezi also stood for development of tripartite relations, including for example Ukraine or Turkmenistan.

Then the meeting continued without media representatives.

Georgia

Russia's Pastukhov Says Peacekeepers Will Leave If Necessary

LD1312204395 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi — Boris Pastukhov, Russian deputy foreign minister and the Russian president's special envoy for the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict settlement, has told a correspondent of the DELOVYE LYUDI magazine that recently the conflicting sides have repeatedly stated that there is no longer a need for the peacekeeping forces to be deployed in Abkhazia. Boris Pastukhov said that Russia will leave Abkhazia if necessary, but there was a danger of the resumption of military actions.

Boris Pastukhov also noted that the Russian side was not going to perform the functions of the border troops for any country. He added that it was possible to replace the Russian peacekeeping forces with the UN "blue helmets," but this must be undertaken by the United Nations, not the CIS states. However, the United Nations, due to its current financial situation, refrains from commencing peaceful operations in Abkhazia.

Abkhazia Rejects Russian Police Role

LD1412131795 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 14 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At Georgian-Abkhaz consultations in Moscow on 12 December, the Abkhaz side categorically refused the Georgian side's proposal to grant the Russian peacekeeping forces the policing and curfew functions in order to protect the Georgian population in Gali district. [Leonid] Lakerbaia, the so-called Abkhaz foreign minister, and Sokrat Jinjolia, the speaker of the Abkhaz Parliament, said that the Russian peacekeepers' function should be solely the disengagement of the conflicting sides and that the order on the whole of the Abkhaz territory should be established by the Abkhaz police.

Arms, Explosives Said Smuggled From Abkhazia to Russia

LD1412134795 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 14 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A lack of control, reigning at the Russian-Georgian border on the Psou river in Abkhazia, enables criminal elements at a cost of large sums to smuggle out trucks loaded with citrus fruit, military equipment, and explosives through the checkpoint in the direction of the Krasnodar Territory. The combat equipment is aimed at carrying out terrorist acts on Russian territory.

An informed source reports that recently a migration from Abkhazia to Russia of large groups of men of Abkhaz and Chechen nationalities has been noticed. They later gather in Adler, Sochi, and Rostov-on-Don.

The press service of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia hopes that by circulating unbiased information, the relevant Russian services will act promptly to establish order at the border and prevent illegal actions by bandit formations.

Ioseliani, Giorgadze Terrorism Charged

LD1312212895 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 1630 GMT 13 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As has already been reported in a Georgian TV program on terrorist acts in Georgia in recent years, the persons arrested in connection unanimously testified during preliminary investigation that all terrorist acts, including an attempt on the life of Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze, were carried out at the immediate orders from the former member of parliament, Jaba Ioseliani, and the former Security Service chief, Igor Giorgadze.

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The perpetrators of the failed terrorist act of 29 August stated that they had been reprimanded by Jaba Ioseliani for not having shot at Shevardnadze from the grenade launcher following the [unsuccessful car] explosion.

As has already been said, Jaba Ioseliani was arrested several days before another attack on the president's life was planned to take place, on 26 November, the day of his inauguration.

It becomes clear from the TV program that the plan for this action was drawn up in Jaba Ioseliani's country house under his immediate supervision.

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